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*MILTON'S PARADISE REGAINED*

JERRAM



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# PARADISE REGAINED

*A POEM IN FOUR BOOKS*

BY

JOHN MILTON

*EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES*

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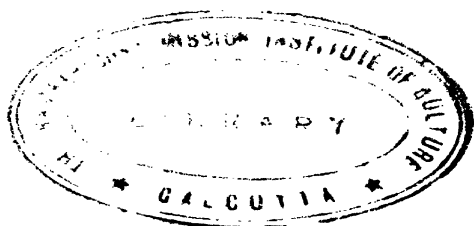
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## INTRODUCTION.

OF the origin of *Paradise Regained* we have an authentic account in the Autobiography of Thomas Ellwood, an Oxfordshire Quaker, who had been introduced to Milton in London, in or about 1662, and had been employed to read to him now that he had become totally blind. During the great Plague of 1665, Ellwood had taken a cottage for Milton at Chalfont St. Giles, in Buckinghamshire. There the poet put into his hands the MS. of *Paradise Lost*, bidding him read it at his leisure and give his opinion upon the work. ‘After I had,’ says Ellwood, ‘with the best attention read it through, I made him another visit, and returned him his book. . . . He asked me how I liked it and what I thought of it, which I modestly but freely told him ; and after some further discourse about it, I pleasantly said to him, “Thou hast said much here of *Paradise Lost*, but what hast thou to say of *Paradise Found*?” He made me no answer, but sat some time in a muse ; then brake off that discourse, and fell upon another subject. After the sickness was over, and the city well cleansed and become safely habitable again, he returned thither. And when afterwards I went to wait upon him there . . . he showed me his second poem, called *Paradise Regained*, and in a pleasant

Origin of  
the poem.

tone said to me, "This is owing to you ; for you put it into my head by the question you put to me at Chalfont, which before I had not thought of." Hence we infer that *Paradise Regained* was begun at Chalfont in the latter part of 1665, and completed in manuscript by the following summer, or perhaps earlier.<sup>1</sup>

That an attentive reader of *Paradise Lost* should have asked the question—'What hast thou to say of Paradise Found?'—is surprising, since the final restoration of Man is clearly set forth, not only in isolated passages, but in the entire plan of the poem. If its opening lines speak of the 'loss of Eden' as the penalty of Adam's transgression, they also declare that this penalty is to continue, not for ever, but only

'till one greater Man

Restore us, and regain the blissful seat.—*P. L.* i. 4. 5.

Again, the plan of Man's redemption proposed by Messiah, and accepted by his Father in the Third Book, is in the Tenth communicated, though obscurely, to Adam and Eve in the curse pronounced against the Serpent :—

'Her seed shall bruise thy head, thou bruise his heel.'—x. 181.

<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to fix the date of Ellwood's visit to Milton in London ; Milton probably returned thither in the spring of 1666, and we know that Ellwood was in prison at Wycombe from March 13 to June 25 of that year. Assuming that he would take the first opportunity of visiting his friend, we may suppose him to have done so very soon after his release ; but his first *recorded* journey to London was on the occasion of a 'solemn meeting,' which may possibly have been held as late as the beginning of 1667. (See Ellwood's *Life*, p. 220.) That Milton composed most, if not the whole, of *Paradise Regained* at Chalfont is probable from his known habit of mind, which made him restlessly eager to finish any work he had begun, and from the internal evidence of the poem itself, which exhibits 'such a high degree of unity, connexion, and integral perfection, as indicates it to have been the uninterrupted work of one season.' (Dunster.)

the import of which is fully explained in the ten succeeding lines ; while further on (x. 634-648) the Father declares to the assembled angels his gracious purpose, which his Son, the 'destined restorer of mankind,' shall afterwards accomplish. Lastly, in the Twelfth Book, Michael relates to Adam 'who that seed of the woman shall be, which was promised in the fall ; his incarnation, death, resurrection, and ascension, and the state of the Church till his second coming ' (Argument of Bk. xii.) ; whereat Adam breaks forth into a transport of joy, exclaiming—

'O goodness infinite, goodness immense,  
That all this good of evil shall produce  
And evil turn to good !'—xii. 469.

Hence Addison, in his *Criticism on Paradise Lost*, justly observes that the author has taken pains to 'repair' what seemed to be an inherent defect in his subject by making the poem end with a prospect of future happiness ; 'so that, while Satan is represented miserable in the height of his triumphs, Adam is triumphant in the height of misery' (*P. L.* x. 506-577).

We need not then be surprised that Milton, on hearing Ellwood's question, 'sat some time in a muse,' and 'brake off that discourse ;' nor is it difficult to imagine what his thoughts must then have been. If Ellwood, a man of at least average intelligence (as his connexion with Milton implies, and as we know from other sources that he was), could so far misunderstand the poem, might not the general public fail yet more signally to apprehend its purpose ; and would it not be best to make the matter secure by writing a second poem that should deal directly and exclusively with the event which in *Paradise Lost* he had but contemplated in the far distant future ? This intention is distinctly declared in the first lines of the new poem—



'I who erewhile the happy garden sung  
By one man's disobedience lost, now sing  
Recovered Paradise to all mankind.'

We do not therefore agree with Dunster's opinion that the *Paradise Regained* is so necessary a sequel to the *Paradise Lost*, that Milton must have intended from the first such a completion of his subject ; nor with that of Schlegel, who thinks that 'he failed to discover the incompleteness of *Paradise Lost*,' but 'eventually perceived the defect, and appended *Paradise Regained*.' The former hypothesis is contradicted by his express declaration to Ellwood ; the latter appears to be inconsistent with those passages in the earlier poem which we have cited as defining its scope, and which lead to the conclusion that its author would have been least likely to recognise incompleteness in the design. When however the suggestion thrown out by Ellwood had once recommended itself, the idea of making the new poem a sequel by way of contrast <sup>1</sup> to *Paradise Lost* would naturally follow.

The opening lines sufficiently indicate this connexion. As the first Adam, by yielding to the tempter, had lost Paradise, so the second Adam, by his successful resistance, restored it 'to all mankind ;' and as the one disobedient act in Eden had been the occasion of the Fall, so the process of Man's recovery is fitly concentrated upon that single event in the life of Jesus, which placed him in immediate antagonism to the Spirit of evil. From an artistic point of view therefore Milton was right in confining the scene of *Paradise Regained* to the temptation of Jesus in the wilderness ; here, if anywhere, was to be found the antithesis which would make the second poem a fitting sequel to the first ; and we may

<sup>1</sup> See Prof. Masson's Introduction, vol. ii. pp. 7-10.

well believe that the choice was deliberately made. Commentators have regretted that he chose so narrow a ground to work upon, when his epic might have embraced the whole period of our Saviour's life, to its triumphal close in the Resurrection and Ascension. We can hardly suppose that the idea of all this never occurred to Milton, or that in his opinion the conflict with Satan was over, and the final victory won, after this single trial in the desert. In *Paradise Lost*, x. 182, he had declared that the prophecy, 'he shall bruise thy head,' was—

Limitation  
of the  
scene.

‘ then verified,  
When Jesus . . . rising from his grave  
Spoiled principalities and powers, triumphed  
In open show ; and with ascension bright  
Captivity led captive through the air,  
The realm itself of Satan long usurped.’—

but not even then was it completely fulfilled, for he adds—

‘ Whom he *shall tread at last* under our feet,’

knowing only too well that the dominion of the ‘god of this world’ was as yet far from being finally abolished, and that by no conceivable extension of the limits of his poem could he have carried it onward to the desired consummation. But in *Paradise Regained* he has chosen a scene which is at once typical and representative. The victory in the wilderness was the earnest of ultimate victory, a first great battle, whose issue virtually decided the campaign ; a grand turning-point or crisis, wherein all that came after was as surely determined as though it had been already achieved.<sup>1</sup> There is therefore no

<sup>1</sup> Archbishop Trench, speaking of the Temptation, observes—  
‘ We cannot estimate too highly the importance of this victory, or the bearing which it had, and still has, on the work of Redemption.

reason to suppose with Thyer and others, that Milton had originally intended to produce a more comprehensive work, but that, feeling himself at his advanced age unequal to the task, he was forced to contract his design into the narrower compass of the present poem.

We are thus placed in a position to offer a reply to the objection that, if Milton had held more correct

Milton's views on the Divinity of Jesus. views on the subject of Christ's Divinity, he would never have chosen 'the Temptation as the main incident of *Paradise Regained*.'<sup>1</sup>

It has been shown that he had good reasons for so doing, reasons of a purely artistic kind, and therefore independent of theological considerations. Indeed there is little in the poem itself, which, when taken fairly with the context, necessarily renders its author liable to an imputation of heresy. There is perhaps but one passage that could justly be made to bear such a construction. We allude to Book i. 165, where the Father calls his angels to witness—

'From what consummate virtue I have chose  
This perfect man, by merit called my Son, &c.'

Here the credentials of Jesus for the office of Saviour to mankind are based upon no higher ground than that of perfect Humanity; and since the words are attributed to God the Father, we may reasonably conclude that Milton is expressing his own views,<sup>2</sup> which, we must admit, fall very far short of those held by orthodox

Milton showed that he had a true feeling of this, when he wrote a poem which contained nothing more than a history of this victoriously subverted temptation, and called it *Paradise Regained*' (*Studies in the Gospels*, p. 4).

<sup>1</sup> Sumner's note on p. 29 of Preface to his Translation of the *Christian Doctrine* (see next page).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *P. L.* iii. 303 : vi. 42; and see i. 166, note.

Christians. Elsewhere in the poem, such expressions as appear to limit the claims of Jesus to be in the highest sense the 'Son of God,' proceed either from the disciples and Mary (ii. 30, &c.), or from Satan (i. 91, iii. 230, iv. 500, &c.), where we are clearly released from the necessity of imputing to the poet opinions which for dramatic purposes he puts into the mouth of his characters.

But though we deny that any strong case can be made out against Milton's orthodoxy from *Paradise Regained* alone, the question wears a far different aspect when viewed by the light of information derived from other sources. Of these the most important is the posthumous Latin treatise, *De Doctrina Christiana*, discovered in 1823 by Mr. Lemon in the State Paper Office at Whitehall, and translated by Mr. Sumner, afterwards Bishop of Winchester. The fifth chapter shows that Milton then held opinions substantially 'Arian;' since he asserts that Jesus<sup>1</sup> neither existed from all eternity, nor is 'of one essence with the Father.' It is true that in his treatise *Of Reformation in England* (1641) he speaks of Arianism as 'heresy,' and addresses the 'one tri-personal Godhead' in the language of impassioned supplication; but there is ample evidence to show that his views had undergone a marked change in his later years. An examination of the texts usually adduced in proof of the eternity of the Son and his co-equality with the Father<sup>2</sup> leads Milton to the conclusion that they do not prove the doctrine. On the other hand, he lays the greatest possible stress upon all those passages which assert or imply the dependence of Jesus upon the Father

<sup>1</sup> See notes on i. 91, 166. Arius maintained that Christ had a beginning of existence, that 'there was a time when he existed not,' ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. John i. 1; x. 30; xx. 28; Hebr. i. 8, &c.

for his divine power and attributes,<sup>1</sup> as so many arguments on the opposite side. He not only declines to accept the explanation that these latter assertions affect only the human nature of Jesus, but is most severe on those who 'are constantly shifting the form of their reasoning, Vertumnus-like, and using the twofold nature of Christ as a ready subterfuge to evade any arguments that may be brought against them.' Lastly, from the fact of the name of GOD being 'not unfrequently ascribed even to angels and men,' he argues that its application to Jesus is 'no proof of equality with the Father,' from whom, even 'when he shall have completed his functions as a Mediator, and nothing shall remain to prevent him from resuming his original glory, he shall nevertheless be subject' (1 Cor. xv. 27). This doctrine of 'inferiority' is so persistently maintained in *Paradise Lost*, that one is surprised at its having almost escaped notice. Even Dr. Johnson, opposed as he was to all Milton's ways of thinking, pronounces him 'untainted by any heretical peculiarity of opinion;' and Dr. Trapp speaks of *Paradise Lost* as 'omni ex parte orthodoxum.' Addison indeed observes that, 'if Milton's majesty forsakes him anywhere, it is in those parts of his poem where the Divine Persons are introduced as speakers,' but he attributes this fact to the 'fear and trembling,' with which he imagines the poet to have been struck, while engaged on these portions of his work, and which led him 'to confine himself to such thoughts as are drawn from the books of the most orthodox divines, and to such expressions as may be met with in Scripture. Though disagreeing *in toto* with the former part of this criticism—for it would surely be hard to discover any symptoms of awe or 'trembling' in Milton's treatment of the Divine mysteries—we think that the last words of

<sup>1</sup> e.g. John v. 20; vi. 57; xvii. 5; Matt. xi. 27; Mark xiii. 2, &c. See iv. 598, note.

the above quotation point to a solution of the difficulty. It is because Milton habitually conveys his thoughts in Scriptural language, that those who read him without any previous knowledge of his opinions fail to notice what must otherwise have aroused their suspicions; or if certain expressions do appear objectionable, they are excused on the plea of 'dramatic exigencies,' which (granting the original daring conception of the poem) allow the Divine Persons to be introduced under modes of speech and action that would otherwise savour of irreverence. In *Paradise Regained* the task of avoiding, if he desired it, the imputation of 'unsoundness' was far easier. The incident on which the poem is based presents Jesus exclusively on his human side; hence the absence of assertions respecting his Deity could not fairly be construed into a denial of that doctrine on the part of the author. The comparatively modern hypothesis, that the story of the Temptation is a record, not of actual facts, but of some 'remarkable mental struggle,'<sup>1</sup> objectively described, would have found no favour with Milton. He accepted the narrative in its plain literal sense as the groundwork of his structure, though he availed himself of a poet's privilege in adding scenes and circumstances, supplied by a prolific imagination. Having then in the course of the poem vindicated the claims of Jesus to a perfect Humanity, by celebrating his successful resistance to every temptation, he concludes with a sublime hymn of victory, in which at first sight nothing appears that is inconsistent with a belief in the Deity of the Conqueror. Yet even that passage is susceptible of a far lower interpretation; for those very phrases, 'Image of the Father,' 'Son of the Most High,' so full of meaning to the orthodox Christian, are

Theology of  
*Paradise  
Regained.*

<sup>1</sup> *Ecce Homo*, 3rd edition, p. 10.

made in the *Christian Doctrine* to serve as arguments to prove the inferiority of Christ to his Father, to which, as we have seen, so much significance is attached in *Paradise Lost*.

Before quitting this topic we may, without venturing far into the thorny fields of theological controversy, present a brief outline of the apparent causes of Milton's later deviation from generally accepted beliefs. He set out with three deliberate assumptions; first, that the Bible was the only external and sufficient guide to Christian doctrine, in other words, the sole 'Rule of Faith'; secondly, that Divine inward guidance was absolutely necessary to its due interpretation; thirdly, that he himself was the subject of this guidance. To the student of Milton's *Christian Doctrine* nothing is more remarkable than his unhesitating acceptance of the literal sense of Scripture as an absolute authority; how was it then that, starting from so apparently orthodox a position, he was led to wander away into the paths of heresy? In endeavouring to answer this question we shall limit ourselves to the cardinal doctrine of the Deity of Jesus, involving, as it does, that of the Co-equality of the Three Persons in the Divine Trinity.

Milton appears to have adopted the principle that the rare and the obscure in Scripture is to be interpreted by the light of that which is common and plain. He found the Unity of God, His distinct personality, His supremacy over every other being, asserted in numberless passages; that Jesus, though endowed with divine attributes and powers to such an extent as to make him *par excellence* the 'Son of God,' was yet verily a man, admitted of no dispute. How then were these facts to be reconciled with the assertions of those rarer but more significant texts, which seemed to point to a far higher *status* than

that of any being short of the Deity? Was there any means by which the claims of Jesus to be equal with God could be allowed, without disallowing the fundamental truths of the Divine Unity and Self-existence? Milton felt himself compelled to answer in the negative. The principle he elected to follow forced him to seek some theory which, while it set Jesus far above any other creature, left him a creature still, and inferior to the Father in his divine as well as in his human nature. The alternation between the Godhead and the Manhood of Jesus, which made him 'equal to the Father as touching' the one, but 'inferior as touching' the other, was, as we have seen, denied by Milton; his rejection of all 'Church authority' as an aid to interpreting the Scriptures threw him back upon the resources of his own reason, illuminated, according to his sincere belief, by a divine light. But, failing to discover in the Bible that precisely defining phraseology which the Church afterwards employed as a bulwark against heresy, he inferred that certain of her dogmas were unwarranted. With regard to the mysteries of Divine existence, he forgot that the words even of inspired men cannot, owing to imperfections in human thought and language, furnish ground for strictly logical deductions; hence he argued from sonship against Co-eternity, from generation against Self-existence, from endowment and delegated powers against Co-equality. The light of his own reason, however honestly applied, failed to teach him that the generation of the Son of God is a function of the Divine Essence, never begun, never ending; and therefore independent of time and of all temporal relations. It is an old rejoinder of the Church, to those who by an independent investigation of Scripture claim to have found 'a more excellent way,' that the Bible, apart from her interpreting voice, is a source of



heresy. Milton's case unquestionably proved no exception to this *dictum*.

The same great personage, who had figured so prominently in *Paradise Lost* that he has been fairly designated the hero of the poem, re-appears in *Paradise Regained*. Many ages have passed since the Tempter achieved his first victory in Eden, and during all this time he and his angels have ruled Man's universe at their will (i. 50). He is now about to contend with a new adversary, who, as he has good reason to believe, is none other than that 'greater Man' destined to 'regain' the province which he had by craft and subtilty annexed to his dominions. It is a 'fair empire,' a 'pleasant realm,' won with much pains and retained only by dint of incessant vigilance and care; moreover, defeat in the coming struggle would involve, not merely the loss of empire, but his return for ever to the prison-house of 'adamantine chains and penal fire.' Therefore, summoning his angels to their council-chamber in the middle region of air, he addresses them in language far different from that he had employed when he first raised himself from the fiery gulf, after his nine days' confusion (*P. L.* i. 52). The proud spirit of revenge which had hurled defiance against the Most High, the indomitable resolution 'never to submit or yield,' above all the sanguine hope which anticipated certain success in his projected enterprise against the new world of man, are exchanged for feelings of anxiety, almost of dismay. These feelings Satan scarcely tries to dissemble. 'With looks agast and sad' he lays the 'ill news' before the council, warns them of the coming danger, and prepares to counteract it as best he may.

The predominant characteristic of Satan is his pertinacity. He must have known almost from the first

that, in opposing one who was *destined* to overcome him, he was fighting a forlorn battle. There was indeed a bare possibility that the Man, upon whom at his baptism he had seen the heavenly sign descend, might after all *not* be his dreaded foe; hence the first enterprise is nominally a voyage of discovery—‘who this is we must learn.’ But the general tone of his address is not expressive of any real doubt on the subject; practically he assumes, and intends his audience to assume, that their worst fears are confirmed. The ‘hope of success’ with which the speech concludes is not re-assuring; since it refers, not to the issue of the conflict, but to the road by which he was to reach the field, now made easy to travel. In his next speech, after the first assault has failed, there is no vestige of uncertainty; he is ‘solicitous and blank,’ and alludes explicitly to the threatened expulsion down to hell; yet does not abandon the enterprise as hopeless, but speaks only of its extreme difficulty and of the possibility of failure. Afterwards, when Jesus puts the crucial question—

‘Know’st thou not that my rising is thy fall?’

Satan, though ‘inly racked,’ is so far from being confounded by the near prospect of his doom, that he affects to welcome it as a possible amelioration of his present state, and even ventures to tempt Jesus with an argument founded on his own example—

‘If I then to the worst that can be haste,  
Why move thy feet so slow to what is best?’

After successive assaults have failed, he becomes desperate, and yet ‘for very spite’ urges the attack with increasing subtilty, soon to be exchanged for an almost brutal violence, the offspring of impotent rage. At last,

staking the issue upon one decisive cast, with what result we know, he retires vanquished from the scene.

In all this we see Milton following with intense poetic interest the fortunes of the supernatural hero of the *Paradise Lost*. Satan, though lamentably fallen from his former majestic condition, is still far less ignoble than the vulgar scoffing spirit—that incarnation of the worst elements in man's animal nature—who is portrayed in the Mephistopheles of Goethe.<sup>1</sup> He is still the supreme leader and director of the infernal assembly, powerful in thought and in action ; and the enterprise he originates, and does not shrink from undertaking in person, demands every resource of subtilty and cunning, with which he is represented as endowed. The addresses put into the mouth of Satan are models of persuasive rhetoric ; in reading them we feel that it is no contemptible enemy with whom Jesus has to deal. The battle is a real one, a conflict between the Prince of the Power of the Air and the Prince of Light, between the god of this world and the chosen Champion of the God of heaven. Bearing this in mind, we do not indeed fear the issue of the contest, but follow its various stages with painful interest, as we ask ourselves the question, ' How will this or that temptation be surmounted ? ' In one remarkable passage Milton has not hesitated to enlist our momentary sympathies on the side of the Arch-fiend himself. There is an indescribable pathos in Satan's appeal, near the end of the

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Masson has expanded this idea in his *Three Devils*. We shall not follow him into details, but would observe by way of caution, that, although the idea of Satan's gradual deterioration may fairly be traced in Milton's two poems, no such design can be attributed to Goethe. His Mephistopheles is quite an independent conception, and we have instanced it solely by way of illustration.

First Book, to be allowed 'to see and approach' the Son of God, because he has not yet lost all power of admiring what is 'excellent in good and fair and virtuous ;' and the concluding wail of despair sounds as indeed wrung from a heart worn by misery—

'This wounds me most (what can it less?) that Man,  
Man fallen, shall be restored ; *I never more.*'—i. 404.

The reply of Jesus, though it exposes in sternest language the falsity of Satan's other pretensions, leaves this one point untouched. A formal contradiction of his claims to the possession of virtuous faculties would have been superfluous, since his motive for approaching our Saviour was wholly independent of any such feelings, even supposing them to be genuine. What we wish to remark is that Milton probably intended his readers to suppose this. He had started in the Second Book of *Paradise Lost* with the theory that 'neither do the spirits damned lose all their virtue,' and in the Fourth Book he had represented Satan as standing 'abashed' at feeling 'how awful goodness is,' while he 'saw and pined his loss.' This theory, which enters so largely into the conception of the earlier epic, is necessarily resumed in *Paradise Regained*. To have managed otherwise would have been to destroy, or greatly to impair, the continuity between the two poems ; while as a mere 'negation of goodness,' without one spark of appreciation of anything virtuous or sublime, Satan would have stood forth as a most unequal antagonist of the Son of God. But as the poem proceeds even these faint vestiges of his former dignity become fainter still ; he fawns and cringes before him whom he affects to regard as his 'Lord,' and twice with mock humility descends to ask a favour at his hands (i. 483 ; iii. 215). Once only does a semblance of his

old pride return ; when, after Jesus has rejected the offer of a kingdom, he exclaims—

‘know also thou, that I  
On what I offer set as high esteem, &c.’

and proposes the ‘impious condition’ to worship him as a ‘superior Lord.’<sup>1</sup> But this is after all arts of sophistry have been tried in vain, and the proposal is rightly characterised as a display of ‘impudence’ on the part of the Tempter. Thus step by step we are bidden to trace the decline of the now degraded hero, till at last, ‘foiled, defeated and repulsed,’ he falls headlong from the aerial height, and the divine Conqueror is left in full possession of ‘his victorious field.’

From Ellwood’s statement (pp. vii. viii.) we may fairly conclude, first that Milton had not thought of making a poem on this subject, till the idea was suggested to him ; secondly, that he could have had no time for any prolonged reading or meditation before the work was begun, or while it was in progress. We doubt therefore whether the poet was indebted, at least in any degree worth considering, either to Ross’s Latin *Christiad*, or to certain obscure Italian poems of the sixteenth century (mentioned by Todd in his Introduction) which treat of the Temptation of Jesus and other kindred themes.<sup>2</sup> From the English poem by Giles Fletcher (1611) entitled *Christ’s Triumph on Earth*, Milton would seem to have borrowed several suggestions, as the subjoined

<sup>1</sup> The introduction of this incident is due to the Bible narrative. No poet would have *imagined* it under the circumstances.

<sup>2</sup> *La Humanità del Figliolo di Dio* (Venice, 1533), *La Vita e Passione di Christo* (1518), &c. Milton may have read these poems in his youth, but the traces of their influence in *Paradise Regained* are faint indeed, if not wholly imaginary. See Todd’s citations,

summary, with references to *Paradise Regained*, will show.

The poem opens with Christ in the wilderness—‘a waste desert, whither heavenly fate, and his own will, him brought’ (*P. R.* i. 189). At first the beasts run to attack him, but beholding the brightness of his countenance, they kneel and dance before him, and cease to prey upon each other (i. 310). ‘An aged sire’ now approaches (i. 314), very infirm, and in a hermit’s guise; he blesses Christ, calling him ‘the Son of Heaven,’ and with much semblance of humility begs him to share his cell. He complains of the barrenness of the region, where ‘stones do grow instead of corn;’—‘But thou with corn canst make this stone to ear,’ he cries, picking up a stone. After this, for many stanzas the resemblance to *Paradise Regained* becomes fainter; Fletcher’s poem passes into a pure allegory, largely mingled with classical images and allusions. The hermit (a serpent in disguise) leads Christ to a dismal cave, the abode of Despair, and tempts him to enter. He refuses, and ‘both away were caught, and to the temple fled.’ They stand on the pinnacle, over which, high aloft, Presumption has spread her pavilion, ‘shining with false light,’—a sort of ‘fool’s paradise’ in the air. She then (we hear no more of the hermit) bids Christ throw himself down, and on his refusal ‘herself tumbles headlong to the floor’ (iv. 562). Angels bear him to a mountain-top covered with snow; at his tread the snow melts, and discloses ‘a goodly garden,’ an abode of sensual delight, the realm of Panglory. The Dragon, who has accompanied Christ hither, leads him into a room full of revellers, and thence into ‘a higher story,’ where ‘Avarice dwells, and Ambition holds his court.’ ‘High over all’ is set ‘Panglory’s blazing throne;’ she entices Christ with enchanting wiles, but he disperses her charms, and drives her ‘with

her sire' down to hell. A band of angels bring him celestial food (iv. 588), and 'as he feeds, the holy quires combine' to hymn his victory.

As Milton did not die till November 1674, he had the opportunity of hearing some of the opinions passed upon his latest works. The *Paradise Regained* was not favourably received from the first, and it has been comparatively neglected ever since. It suffered in the estimation of the public by being contrasted with *Paradise Lost*, and this, as his nephew Phillips tells us, Milton 'could not hear with patience.' Hence the exaggerated assertion that he 'preferred' *Paradise Regained* to the earlier poem. It is possible that Milton, judging his latest production by something else than a purely poetical standard, and irritated by the popular depreciation, may have spoken of its comparative merits in a way which his deliberate judgment would not have sanctioned. It is so different in kind, and therefore in style and diction, from the *Paradise Lost*, that it will not (properly speaking) bear the comparison; but of its own kind, the *didactic* epic—which deals in moral reflections and precepts enforced by argument, rather than in variety and intensity of action—it is a perfect specimen. Dialogue and debate, which form so prominent a feature even in *Paradise Lost*, here reign supreme; and, as Hallam well observes, 'the whole poem may almost be accounted a drama of primal simplicity, the narrative and descriptive part serving rather to diversify and relieve the speeches of the actors, than their speeches, as in the legitimate epic, to enliven the narration.' Hence it has been thought that Milton designed *Paradise Regained* as a specimen of that form of epic poetry of which, in the *Reason of Church Government* (1641), he had declared the book of Job to be 'a brief model,' as

Opinions  
of various  
critics.

contrasted with the 'diffuse' epic of Homer, Virgil and Tasso. If this be so, we shall no longer be surprised at the difference between the two poems, seeing that this difference is essential ; nor expect to find in *Paradise Regained* a grandeur and sublimity which its author never intended. It is not grand in the sense that *Paradise Lost* is grand : there is nothing wild, stirring, or terrific in it, like the battle of the angels and the stormy debates of the infernal council, nothing even heroic in the popular sense of the word ; for it teaches us that human aspirations after mere glory and the extension of empire are not only to be condemned from a moral point of view, but are less truly great, dignified, and majestic, than quiet moderation, patient abiding of the time, and resignation to present fortune. That such a poem should fail to be *popular* is not surprising ; since enthusiasm for what is great and good is rare in comparison with the power of comprehending the force of passionate emotions.<sup>1</sup> Yet it has always been admired by the few critics who have taken the pains to study it. It has been pronounced 'the most perfect poem extant in its particular kind,' 'a truly divine poem,' 'rich in moral sentiment and sublime.' Macaulay, writing in 1825, went so far as to assert the superiority of *Paradise Regained* to any poem that had since appeared ; a criticism which we believe its author would have confessed to be extravagant, since he afterwards declared that the essay in which it occurs 'contained scarcely a paragraph such as his mature judgment approved.' Hayley in his *Life of Milton* observes :—'Assuredly there is no poem of an epic form, where the sublimest moral is so forcibly and so abundantly united to poetical delight ; the splendour of the poet does not indeed blaze so intensely as in

<sup>1</sup> Rev. F. Robertson, *Lectures on Influence of Poetry*, p. 175.



his larger productions ; here he resembles the Apollo of Ovid, softening his glory in speaking to his son, and avoiding to dazzle the fancy that he may descend into the heart.' Dunster, one of its most strenuous defenders (1796) observes that the 'absence of poetic ornament in the *Paradise Regained* is a mark of taste and refined

artifice, to be appreciated by the favoured and initiated few, if not by the general public.' This is a style of criticism which may easily be overstrained ; since 'initiated few' may mean those who, for various reasons, are predisposed to admiration. The philosopher may praise it for its fine moral maxims, the rhetorician for its subtle disputations, the scholar for its classic purity of style ; all which it may have, and yet be no true poem. It is a trite saying that the supreme object of poetry is to *please* : the question is, Who are the fittest judges of what *ought* to please ? Not all men are endowed with a capacity for appreciating the highest sources of intellectual pleasure ; now, as of old, the poet has 'arrows in his quiver which cry aloud to the wise, but to the crowd they need an interpreter.'<sup>1</sup> Doubtless, the ultimate appeal is to the 'general public,' and in the region of art, as elsewhere, the maxim holds good, 'Securus judicat orbis terrarum.' But among this public there are those to whom the thoughtful study of a well-cultured mind has given a just claim to lead the voice of criticism ; and it is by their verdict that the true merits of any work of art must be decided. Hence what is called 'public opinion' is often the aggregate of opinions expressed by individuals, whom the public consents to follow, and whose decision it dares not question, for fear of being thought unappreciative. Thus it becomes the fashion to praise this or that effort of genius, until some new critic arises, who wins favour with the

How far it  
is a popular  
poem.

<sup>1</sup> Pindar, *Olymp.* ii. 86.

many, and turns the current of criticism another way. A great poem will very likely not be 'popular,' for it demands an amount of patient study (if we would descend below the surface into the hidden depths that lie beneath), which the popular mind is unwilling, perhaps unable, to bestow. Especially is this true of Milton, whose luxuriant fancy, fed from an inexhaustible storehouse of classic and mediæval lore, has filled his poetry with a wealth of learned illustration sometimes overpowering. The *Paradise Lost* itself cannot strictly be termed a 'popular' poem. It is indeed so bound up with the religious associations of the English people, that, as has been truly said, our ideas of Paradise and the Fall are derived from Milton rather than from the book of Genesis. Still it is by extracts, not as a whole, that this epic is known and judged, by those familiar specimens whose beauty and sublimity it needs no learning to appreciate nor critical insight to discover. Upon these the popular fame of *Paradise Lost* will ever rest ; but there are few, even of professed students, who know it in its entirety, perhaps scarcely one in a hundred who could give a correct analysis of its contents, or state accurately the connexion of its oftenest quoted passages.

Although, as we have seen, *Paradise Regained* does not deal largely in narrative and description, it contains, considering its length, no mean proportion of such materials. The representations of desert solitude, the banquet scene in the Second Book, the views of the Parthian host, of Rome, and of Athens, the storm in the Fourth Book—of which James Montgomery has observed that 'a night more hideous, followed by a morn more lovely, never yet appeared in nature or in song'—these, with other shorter passages of almost equal beauty, occupy nearly a fifth part of the whole. Its beauties and defects.

the didactic element being at times too conspicuous. Every true poet, by dealing with the deeper realities of life, does teach mankind ; but he should do this imperceptibly, drawing, not compelling the mind whither he desires to carry it. Only by ministering to the most refined sense of pleasure in the reader can this result be secured, and this is the true meaning of the *dictum* that 'the proper aim of poetry is to *please*,' failing which, it will inevitably fail to *instruct*. Now in reading *Paradise Regained* we sometimes feel that Milton is playing too openly the part of an instructor, and that in so doing he transcends the limits of dramatic propriety, and delays the action of the poem. In some of the speeches there appears to be an unnecessary expansion of the thought, a period, a line, or a phrase, that is not so obviously in keeping with the surrounding circumstances as to pre-

clude the idea that the poet is endeavouring to inculcate his own lessons of ethical or political wisdom. It has been said with truth that all Milton's poetry is *autobiographic*. He projects his own personality upon the canvas ; he pervades the whole with his presence. His chief characters represent himself or his party under various phases of opinion. In *Paradise Lost* Jehovah becomes the exponent of Milton's own theology ; hence Pope's famous epigram—

'God the Father turns a school-divine.'

The fallen angels are Cavaliers fighting against 'the cause ;' Abdiel typifies 'the faithful few' who are still true to their allegiance. Nay, Satan himself, the Arch-rebel, is in his turn a gigantic impersonation of the republican spirit of resistance to the powers that be, and his character is in many points even dangerously attractive. Adam, the imperious spouse, exacting implicit obedience from her whose 'happiest knowledge' is to

know her husband's will as her law, and to live 'for God in him,' exhibits Milton's own severe conception of married life. The virtues and the defects of Puritanism are alike fully exemplified in this marvellous poem. *Samson Agonistes* shows the subjective element still more distinctly. Milton's circumstances at this period (1660-1671) bore an obvious likeness to those of the Hebrew judge. Like Samson he was blind, had known what it was to be married to a wife, who was as it were 'of another nation,'<sup>1</sup> and was unhappy in his relations with her. Like Samson he was a man of might in the power of his enemies, who were to him as 'uncircumcised Philistines,' and enemies of the living God; had he been able, he would also have been, like Samson, the willing instrument of their destruction.

In *Paradise Regained* the note of confidence in the future is more strongly accentuated than in the *Samson*. The disciples indeed vent their complaints, and doubt 'as the days increase,' but soon their faith returns that their Lord 'will not fail.' In the poem generally there is no doubting of the result, no questioning of God's decrees, no 'sense of heaven's desertion,'<sup>2</sup> nor self-exclusion from 'the list of them that hope,'<sup>3</sup> as in the case of Samson. Jesus is the ideal of patient resignation. He will not forestall his promised kingdom even by an hour, but will calmly 'abide the time.' This suffering, waiting Messiah represents Milton at his best, freed from the limitations of his party. *They* had abandoned hope, many of them had abjured their principles, and had made unworthy concessions to the ruling side:<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mary Powell, Milton's first wife, was of a Royalist stock. A few weeks after their marriage she went to visit her family, and for some time refused to return to her husband.

<sup>2</sup> *S. A.* 632.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.* 647.

<sup>4</sup> *P. R.* i. 474 is supposed to refer to this.

he was one who 'dared be singularly good,' and in the loneliness of his seclusion must often have felt that, like Elijah, he almost alone was left, who had not in some form or other 'bowed the knee to Baal.' He too had thought to be a prophet among his people, and his cause seemed to have failed utterly. But it had not really failed. The kingdom of God was not indeed to be established by the sword; this had been tried in vain, and soon 'persuasion was to do the work of fear' by establishing a kingdom of righteousness in the 'willing hearts' of men. How and when this was to be Milton could not know; hence in the poem Jesus rejects with scorn the effete 'politic maxims' of the tempter, yet will not unfold either the time or the means of his future greatness. What seemed the death-blow of Puritanism was the ultimate triumph of all that was best in the system. Its earlier successes had but retarded its true work, by bringing out the worst defects in its character. But now that all hopes of earthly conquest and dominion were irretrievably lost, the Puritans were forced to descend to the prosaic level of sober and respectable citizens, and for a time their foes prevailed. Soon, however, the shameless excesses of the Restoration produced a reaction, which did more for the cause of true liberty than the Puritans could ever have done in the days of their ascendancy. Milton never lived to see even 'the beginning of that end,' but his *Paradise Regained* shows his faith that it was one day to be realised. In his ideal of freedom he rose far above his party; he desired not *democracy*, but the establishment of 'spiritual and civil liberty' upon a basis of education and culture.<sup>1</sup> Without this he felt that right government was impossible.

We see then how strong is the 'autobiographic'

<sup>1</sup> See note on iii. 49.

element in Milton; the life of the man is inseparably bound up with his poetry. Hence it is all too real to be, strictly speaking, *dramatic*;<sup>1</sup> but the intense pervading earnestness amply supplies what is wanting in dramatic power. Should the poet obtrude his personality so far as to make his characters say or do what is not in keeping with their assumed condition and circumstances, the result artistically must be more or less disastrous. This fault Milton committed (and he could not well avoid it) in *Paradise Lost*, but it is one from which we believe the *Samson* and *Paradise Regained* to be almost entirely free. The theme of either poem—the one his own deliberate choice, the other suggested by his friend—could scarcely fail in Milton's hands to yield most readily to a subjective method of treatment.

The following objections have been made to certain passages in the poem; we will consider them in their order.

Dunster thinks 'the engrafting of Mary's speech into that of her Son (i. 229) has an awkward effect, and might have been better managed.' There is doubtless a slight technical awkwardness in including a speech of some length within another; but Milton's views (see pp. xiii. xiv.) required that Jesus should be *instructed* concerning his mission, and Mary alone could supply the requisite information. Moreover the force of the second temptation is enhanced by the supposition that Jesus had had similar aspirations in his youth, but had abandoned them in consequence of what his mother had told him.

The Banquet scene in the Second Book has been condemned as an unwarrantable addition to the Gospel narrative, as well as indecorous in itself and ill-suited to the occasion. 'The whole banquet is too civic and culinary, and the accompaniments altogether a profanation of that deep, abstracted,

Particular  
objections  
considered.  
1. Speech  
of Mary in  
Book I.

2. The banquet  
in  
Book II.

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Seeley's *Lectures and Essays*, p. 150.

and holy scene' (Lamb, *Essays of Elia*). It is true that Scripture records only three temptations, yet it does not preclude the possibility of there having been more; indeed, the words of Mark i. 13, 'he was . . . forty days *being* tempted (*πειραζόμενος*)' imply a succession of temptations.<sup>1</sup> Thus much may therefore be conceded to the licence of the poet; the question is, whether this added scene is in harmony with surrounding circumstances. Mature consideration compels us to give a negative answer to this question. Regarding Jesus for the moment as a simple Galilean peasant, the offer of so sumptuous a feast to one in his position would have been but a waste of resources; still more so if, even in the sense in which Satan admitted, he was the Son of God. This temptation indeed savours rather of the Korân than of the Gospel, and suffers by contrast with the previous one to turn stones into bread. There no gratification of a fastidious appetite had been proposed to Jesus, but to satisfy by simplest means the cravings of exhausted nature; and (what is more important) to prove his divinity by an act of supernatural power. The banquet, therefore, fails as a *climax*, which Milton evidently intended it to be; and the scene is unworthy of the reputed subtilty of its author. The contrast he suggests between these proffered delicacies and 'that crude apple that diverted Eve' is fallacious, since Eve desired the fruit not so much for its intrinsic excellence as for the effect she believed it would produce—knowledge of good and evil. Yet the exquisite beauty of the whole description, drawing out by contrast (as De Quincey has observed) the sense of dreariness and utter solitude in the surrounding desert, will go far with most readers to atone for the allowed incongruity of the conception.

According to Newton, the 'impious condition' of

<sup>1</sup> See note on ii. 337.

Book iv. 173 would have been better proposed at the first offer of the kingdoms, since it was impossible that Jesus could accept them upon such degrading terms, when he had already refused them unconditionally. Dunster justly argues that, if Milton had adopted this course, he would have marred the effect of his poem by bringing it to a premature crisis; also that the incident in this place is the best possible instance of Satan's desperation, and leads to the discovery (*ἀναγνώρισις*) of his real character. It would indeed be difficult to improve upon Milton's method of arrangement here. Satan has been driven by repeated rebuffs into a desperate indiscretion; then, alarmed at the indignant reply he receives, proceeds to explain away his unwise proposal, and artfully compliments Jesus upon his early love for wisdom. Hereupon follows the magnificent description of Athens, the seat of ancient learning; and the subsequent temptation, suggested by a well-known incident in the boyhood of Jesus, could have found no more fitting occasion. The Gospel narrative allowed the poet his choice of a double climax—that of St. Matthew, who concludes with the invitation to 'fall down and worship,' and that of St. Luke, who places last in order the scene upon the pinnacle of the Temple. Milton adopted the latter, not only as the fittest for poetical treatment in the conclusion, but because he saw that a temptation to spiritual pride was subtler and more powerful than one to mere worldly ambition. Hence Satan is made to say (iv. 536):

'Honour, riches, kingdoms, glory,  
I have been before contemned, and may again;'

therefore he must essay some more decisive proof of the claims of Jesus to be, in a far higher sense, the 'Son of God.'



The answer of Jesus to what may be termed the 'philosophic' temptation (iv. 286, &c.) has been said to exhibit a spirit of fanaticism and intolerance unworthy of the Divine speaker to whom it is attributed. Coleridge expressed a wish that this reply 'had breathed the spirit of the noble passage in the *Reason of Church Government*,<sup>1</sup> rather than the narrow bigotry of Gregory the Great.' He further observes that the statements contained in it are indeed 'partially true;' but that 'partial truth is the worst mode of conveying falsehood.' Dunster had defended the passage as 'consistent with the argument of the poem,' and as 'counterbalancing the preceding *éloge* on heathen literature.' This is irrelevant. The point is not whether the arguments adduced are suitable to the occasion, but whether the assertions on which they are based are absolutely, not partially, *true*. It is unlikely that Milton would have sacrificed truth to a mere rhetorical antithesis, least of all in a speech put into the mouth of one who was Truth itself. Anything like sophistry *here*, from whatsoever motive, is inadmissible. We deny, however, that the rejoinder is even dramatically appropriate. Jesus had been urged to study classic literature as a means of establishing his empire over the Gentiles. He might have replied that Satan had mistaken the nature of his kingdom; that he came not to conquer the learned by weapons of worldly wisdom, and that his 'persuasion' would be addressed, not to the intellect, but to the heart and the conscience. Admitting the excellence of much that was contained in heathen lore, without on the other hand ignoring its obvious vices and imperfections, he might have contented himself with declining these sources of information on the ground that he was already well instructed from 'the fountain of light' above. Some

4. Milton's estimate of Greek philosophy and art.

<sup>1</sup> Partly quoted in the note on iv. 346.

such answer as this might, we think, have been reasonably returned to Satan's suggestion. But Milton's treatment of the separate philosophical systems, except in the case of the Stoics (iv. 300) is not only inadequate, but positively misrepresents much that their authors really believed and taught.<sup>1</sup> His disparagement of Greek music and poetry, as contrasted with the utterances of Hebrew psalmists and prophets, is open to a similar objection. Satan had urged that 'all knowledge is not couched in Moses' law;' it might be added, 'neither is all poetry comprised in the lays of Isaiah or of David.' The lyric and didactic poems of the Bible are indeed unrivalled; but of the epic or heroic kind, whose germ is in the ode, it affords no specimen. The musical systems of that early period are admitted by competent judges to have been of the most rudimentary character, and to have been surpassed by those of the Greeks themselves in later times. Milton was not prone to underrate the value of classical learning and culture. His scheme of education (1644) sets Greek and Roman models nearly on a level with David and Solomon, and places the laws of Moses side by side with 'the extolled remains of Lycurgus and Solon.' In his *Reason of Church Government*, to which we have just referred, he joins Aristotle, Euripides, and Pindar, with the Apocalypse and Song of Solomon; maintaining that 'these abilities, *wheresoever they be found*, are the inspired gift of God, rarely bestowed, *yet to some in every nation*.' The Puritans regarded these things very differently. Not content with recognising the undoubted superiority of the Bible, they despised all other literature as unworthy of notice. To express reverence for any object whatever by depreciating everything else in comparison with it is not only an illiberal but a suicidal policy; for by setting

<sup>1</sup> For confirmation of this statement, see notes on the passage.

the matter in a false light it rouses deserved opposition, which is apt to run into extremes in the contrary direction. Milton, though in the main superior to his party, did not wholly escape its narrowing influence. His Puritanism does at times override his culture. The present passage is one of these exceptional instances—perhaps the most striking in all his poems. He had lavished the best resources of his art upon the magnificent picture he had drawn of Athens in her pride, and strove to counteract the effect by an antithesis. Herein we think he has failed; for while the latter passage will scarcely be read with pleasure by any man of intelligence and taste, the former has established a well-merited claim to universal admiration.

OUR space will not allow any detailed excursus upon the subject of Milton's metre; we can merely indicate certain *principles* of scansion, illustrating them by particular lines, to which reference is made in the notes as presenting special irregularities.

METRE  
AND VERSI-  
FICATION.

Scansion, strictly speaking, is based upon *quantity*; that is, upon the fact of every syllable being 'long,' or 'short,' or 'common,' according to fixed laws of nature or position. This 'quantity' is quite independent of any accent or stress laid upon a particular syllable, e.g. both syllables in the Latin word *ōrās* are regarded as equally 'long,' both of *nēquē* as short, though the stress is upon the former in each case. Therefore in a language like the English, whose prosody is based upon *accent*, not on 'quantity,' scansion (in this strict sense) is impossible. There *are* syllables naturally long and short in English (e.g. *ōld*, *mōre*, *thē*, *ā*, &c.), but their 'quantity' fluctuates in the verse ac-

'Accent'  
and 'Quan-  
tity.'

cording to differences of rhetorical emphasis, &c., from other causes.<sup>1</sup> In other words, the meaning and force of the word must be taken into account ; whereas a Latin or Greek line can be scanned without knowing the meaning of any word in it, supposing a knowledge of the quantity of each syllable, and of the rules of prosody.

To 'scan' a line is to divide it into groups of syllables called 'feet' or 'measures.' Many English lines cannot be thus divided with certainty, because of possible varieties of emphasis or 'accentuation.' Different readers will 'scan' differently, according to their respective ideas of the force of particular words and syllables.

'Scanning' and 'rhythmical reading' of poetry are two distinct processes. In the case of Latin or Greek there is no danger of confounding them. No mere scanning can give the effect of such lines as—

" *Moriamur* INULTAE,

Sed MORIAMUR," ait. *Sic*, sic juvat ire sub umbras.'

but they can be scanned without any regard to their effect. In English poetry we are in constant danger of making this confusion, because absence of 'quantity' requires us to substitute rhetorical or grammatical emphasis.

Yet Milton's most irregular lines are no mere rhythmical prose. They conform to the laws of 'heroic' verse, subject to certain easily defined variations. Each line has five 'measures' or 'feet,' and (normally) five accents. The general effect is 'iambic,'<sup>2</sup> i.e. when the greatest stress is laid

Variations  
from the  
normal  
standard in  
blank verse.

<sup>1</sup> Words like *a* and *the* could scarcely ever be lengthened because of their grammatical insignificance. So generally *and* ; but *et*, though ever so unemphatic, becomes long in a Latin verse if a consonant follows, as '*et* jam.'

<sup>2</sup> We adopt 'he 'classical' terminology and notation *here*, as a matter of convenience. The objections to it will be presently con-

upon the last syllable of a measure. A normal line, therefore, is such as i. 15 :

‘Ābōve | hērō | Ic thōugh | In sē | crēt dōne.’

The variations are (1) Trisyllabic measures introduced at discretion, provided the accent be on *one* syllable only (as the last measure in i. 9, or the first in i. 130) or, equally distributed (as in ‘Ad-věrsārŷ,’ i. 33) ; (2) A reversal of the accent in certain measures. This, by a positive disturbance of the normal ‘iambic’ rhythm, becomes a powerful instrument of expression ; and the more so the nearer it occurs to the end of a line. Examples are, ‘wōrthŷ’ (i. 17), ‘poŵer ōf’ (139), ‘choicēst’ (302) ; (3) The admission of one (sometimes two) *unemphatic* syllables at the end of a line (as in i. 62, iii. 82). This makes a line consist of eleven or twelve syllables, or even of thirteen or fourteen, if there be one or more *trisyllabic* measures in it ; yet such lines are not to be counted *Alexandrines*,<sup>1</sup> since they do not contain six real measures, not having six accents. This supernumerary final syllable was common in Old English poetry, where the number of inflexions produced dissyllabic endings, especially of noun-cases and adverbs in *e*, e.g. Chaucer, *Man of Law’s Tale* :

‘To shippe | is brought | this wo | ful fair | ē may(dē)  
Solempn | ely | with eve | ry cir | cumstan(cē).’

sidered. For the present, let a word accented as *defect* be termed an ‘iambus’ (—), as *mortal* a ‘trochee’ (—), as *prosperous* a ‘dactyl’ (—), as *disobeyan* ‘anapaest’ (—). The ‘spondee’ (—) is best shown in two words, as *else mule* (i. 12), where the separation of the words equalises the accent.

<sup>1</sup> Milton has no real Alexandrines, except here and there in the Choruses of *S. Agonistes*, where the metre is confessedly irregular. The line in *Comus*, 617—

1                    2                    3                    4                    5                    6  
‘As to | make this | rela | tion                    Care | and ut | most shifts,’

is divided between two speakers.

Milton uses this licence most in his dramatic verse, especially in the *Samson*, and in the speeches of *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*.<sup>1</sup> He was probably influenced by his extensive reading of Italian poetry, where nearly every line is necessarily *hendecasyllabic*, because so many Italian words have the 'trochaic' accent, i.e. on the last syllable but one, e.g. Tasso, *Gier. Lib.* i. 2 :

'Canto | l'arni | picto | se e'l ca | pita(no)  
S'armò | d'Asia e | di Lib | ia il po | pol mis(to).'

The skilful combination of two or more of these licences produces a pleasing variety. Dr. Johnson,<sup>2</sup> not understanding this, and having little ear for melody, thought the music of a verse was injured by departure from the pure 'iambic' rhythm. Such a line as—

'The Holy Ghost *and the power* of the High(est)'

he would have condemned as 'a gross violation of the laws of metre.' Yet the whole charm of melodious blank verse consists precisely in such deviations from the regular 'iambic' cadence, which if strictly sustained for many lines in succession would be intolerably monotonous. What we have to discover is the limit of deviation which the poet allowed himself to introduce, and his reasons in each particular case for so doing. We gain nothing by being told, 'here is a trochee, there an anapaest;' we require to know *what precise effect the poet meant to produce by thus disturbing the even flow of his line?* For

<sup>1</sup> The Earl of Surrey, who introduced 'blank verse' into English, employs the *hypermeter* but seldom, nor does he deal much in trisyllabic feet. In Beaumont and Fletcher we find even three and four extra syllables at the end of a line, as—

'Have ye | to swear | that you | will see | it ex(*ecuted*)?'  
'No, sir | I dare | not leave | her to | that sol(*itariness*).'

<sup>2</sup> Remarks on the *Versification of Milton*.

this purpose the Latin and Greek<sup>1</sup> metrical terminology is obviously insufficient. It can at best (by substitution of

Classical terminology inadequate. 'accent' for 'quantity') mark the bare distinction between an accented and an unaccented syllable; but it cannot mark *degrees* of emphasis nor the 'pitch,' nor the 'weight,' grammatical or rhetorical, of different syllables. And since the absence of fixed 'quantity' involves a vast possible variety of scansion, (as one reader might see a 'tribrach' where another saw a 'dactyl,' or even an 'anapæst'), we are committed to a system of metre which shall allow 'feet' of every description— anapæsts, dactyls, spondees, iambi, trochees, &c.—in almost indiscriminate confusion. To the classical scholar this is an absurdity, while the general student is no way benefited by the use of unfamiliar terms, which do not after all solve the problem.<sup>2</sup> We want a method of notation, which shall at any rate not be misleading, and shall express the minuter shades of distinction with some degree of accuracy. For this purpose let the sign ' represent an ordinary accent, " a stronger one, "' a stronger still, if required.<sup>3</sup> Unaccented syllables may be left unmarked, and the 'feet,' or rather

Proposed method of notation.

<sup>1</sup> The *xu* formula, proposed by Dr. Latham and adopted (provisionally) by Professor Masson, is equivalent to the 'classical,' since *x* and *a* represent  $\cup$  and  $\_$  respectively. Thus the first two lines of the poem might be scanned—

$$\begin{array}{l} ax \mid \left. \begin{array}{l} a \\ x \end{array} \right\} a \mid xa \mid xa \mid xa \\ xa \mid ax \mid xa \mid xxa \mid aa \end{array}$$

<sup>2</sup> See an article by Mr. J. A. Symonds, in the *Fortnightly Review* for December 1874, entitled 'The Blank Verse of Milton,' p. 770.

<sup>3</sup> We do not insist upon this, or any special system of notation; but merely desire to illustrate by the use of accentual marks the principles we are about to enunciate.

'measures,' may be divided off by bars | as in Latin and Greek verses. Thus we may mark the first line of the poem thus :

' I' who | cfehwíle | the háp | py gárd | en súng—'


A pause occurring at the *end* of a measure may be indicated by the double bar, as 'lóst || nów síng' in l. 2 ; a pause in the *middle* of a measure by the dash, as 'into the désert | —' in l. 9.' A thicker dash (—) may mark the prolongation of a monosyllable so as to take up the time of two syllables, as in l. 139—

'The Hó | ly Ghóst || — and the | powér of | the High(est).' <sup>2</sup>

Here the sense requires a strong emphasis on 'Ghost,' and one (perhaps barely weaker) on 'power ;' the intervening words 'and the' being made very short. So in l. 361 a pause after 'bliss,' a low-toned emphasis on 'bóttomless,' and a fall of the voice in 'deep,' gives the required effect, which may be indicated thus :

'With theé | from blíss | — to the | bóttom | less deép.'<sup>3</sup>

On the same principle (of retarding or prolonging an emphatic syllable before two unemphatic ones) we may scan :

<sup>1</sup> As in music we use the *rest* (R —) to mark silence, and the *tie* (—) to show that the sound of a note is continued into the next bar, .

<sup>2</sup> This line may also be scanned thus :

'The Hó | ly Ghóst | and the pow | er of | the High(est),'  
making 'pow-er' a dissyllable.

<sup>3</sup> Keightley compares Dante's line—

'Per mé | sí vǎ | — nell'e | térno | dolór,'

only he speaks of a 'trochee' in the fourth place.



'And máde | him bow || to the góds | — of | his wíves' (ii. 171).  
 'Cást wán | ton eýes || on the daúgh | — ters | of mén' (ib. 180).  
 'And with thesé | — wofds | — his temp | tátion | pursúed' (ib. 405).<sup>1</sup>  
 'Nót díf | ficult — || if thou | heáfken | to mé' (ib. 428).  
 'From thát — | plácíd | aspéct | and meék | regárd' (iii. 217).  
 'Múles af | ter thesé || — cárels | and dróm || edar(ies)' (ib. 335).  
 'Só spáke | Ísrael's | trúe kíng || — and to | the fiénd' (ib. 441).  
 'The abð | mína | ble tefms — || ímpious | condí(tion),' (iv. 173)  
 with one supernumerary syllable (or perhaps two).

Here the indignant stress laid upon *abðminable* and *ímpious* compensates for an unusual number of short syllables. So in iv. 597—

'In the bð | — som | of blfss || — and líght | of líght.'

the first and third measures are markedly emphasised. Sometimes there is no very prominent accent in the line, as in ii. 82—

'Lítte | suspí | cíous to á | ny kíng || but nów.'

where *suspicious* must be treated as a trisyllable, and the *to* slightly slurred before *any*. On the other hand, there are lines abnormally accentuated, e.g. the line—

'Háil, Són | of the Móst | — Hígh || heí of | bðth woflds' (iv. 633)

is much retarded by the number of important words (all monosyllables), producing at least four strong accents, and three weaker ones. Similarly the line i. 357—

'Whom thús | ánspered | the Afchfiénd || nów un | dísguísed,'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Or 'his temptá | tí-on | pursued,' making *temptation* a trisyllable.

<sup>2</sup> It may also be scanned thus :

'Whom thus án | swered | the Afchfiénd || &c.,'

with no special stress upon *thus*, and making *answered* a trisyllable.

acquires a very rugged movement from the same cause. The difficult line, i. 302, is best scanned with two final unemphatic syllables (see p. xxxviii.) There should be only a slight stress on the last syllable of *solitude*, that of *before* being correspondingly prolonged. *Choic(e)st* may almost be read as one syllable,<sup>1</sup> and the line may be marked thus—

‘Súch só | litude | befóre | — chofc(e)st | soci(ety).’

The last line we shall notice is iii. 256, perhaps the most irregular in the poem. It may indeed be forced into the ‘iambic’ cadence easily, but with total loss of effect, thus—

‘The one wind | ing, the ó | ther straíght || and léft | betweén.’

But then what becomes of the pause after *winding*, which marks the contrast with *straight*? It is surely possible to scan the line so as to preserve this. The word *winding* occupies the same time in reading as its corresponding word *straight*; we therefore make the first measure consist of four syllables (practically three), pronouncing the first *the* very rapidly, thus—

‘The one *wínding* || the ó | ther straíght || and léft | betweén.’<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Abbott (*Sh. Gr.* § 471) shows that the presence of an *s* sound often had the effect of suppressing a syllable, e.g. *Coriol.* ii. 2 :

‘Thinking | upon | his ser | vic(es) took | from you.’

The *-est* in superlatives was especially so contracted. Cf. ‘*rugged’st* brow,’ ii. 164.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Symonds observes that ‘this line divides itself into two portions; “the one winding | the other straight,” and then falls into the regular iambic cadence.’ But this is not to *scan* the line.

In the above instances we have freely used *prolonged monosyllables*, as 'before —', 'terms —', &c. In Shakspeare these are extremely common; and Dr. Abbott (*Sh. Gr.* §§ 480-486) has collected more than a hundred instances where this licence is absolutely required to make up the full number of syllables in the line—e.g.—

Limits of  
metrical  
licence in  
Milton's  
verse.

'Hear, Na | ture, *he-* | *ar*; *de-* | *ar* god | dess, hear.'

'What say | you, *bo-* | *ys*? Will | you bide | with him?'<sup>1</sup>

But Milton has no such lines as these; each has its full complement of *at least ten syllables*, and the lengthening of monosyllables is a matter of taste, not of necessity.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, his verse is remarkable for a superabundance of syllables. The number of consecutive *short* syllables is in fact a main source of difficulty. It is true that a trisyllabic measure may often be reduced to a disyllable by elision and slurring; but we do not admit these expedients as necessary, except in a few well-established instances, as *spirit* (i. 8), *ignom'y* (iii. 136). Such collocations as 'the <sup>^</sup>Eternal,' 'the <sup>^</sup>embattled seraphim,' 'no <sup>^</sup>advantage,' 'Glory <sup>^</sup>he exacts,' &c., need cause no one to stumble; they may, as Professor Masson observes, be read, 'even with the most leisurely enunciation of the spare syllable.'<sup>3</sup> Probably Milton's intimate acquaintance

<sup>1</sup> So Marlowe, in *Faustus*, ii. 2, has the line:

'*Se-ek* | to save | distres | sed Faus | tus' soul.'

<sup>2</sup> e.g. we have scanned iii. 335 thus:

'Múles aft | er *thèse* || — cámls | and dróm | edar(ies),'

for rhetorical effect: but the prolongation of 'thèse' is not *necessary*. Milton gives no instance of such a line as could be produced by substituting (say) *hounds* for *camels* in the above.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Lowell says, 'Milton's elision (or slur) gives a faint undu-



with Italian metres led him to imitate the liquid flow of that verse, caused by the frequent juxtaposition of unelided vowels.<sup>1</sup> We must remember also that in words of Latin origin many syllables, which are now feebly accented, received a stronger accent from Milton because he regarded their classical 'quantity.' Thus *ōracle, authōrity, tabernācle, appārent, consistōry*, &c., were pronounced by him, not perhaps with the full sound of the Latin *auctōritas*, &c., but still distinctly 'long.'

We must consider not single lines only, but whole passages, if we wish to learn the secret of Milton's melodious verse. He composed in *periods*, and the cadence of one line is often affected by that of the line preceding. Often there are ten or a dozen lines forming one continuous period, as in the description of the storm (iv. 409-421), which has no pause of greater value than a comma at the end of any one line. In earlier blank verse nearly every line was complete in itself. It took some time to get free from the influence of the riming couplet; but by Milton's time this had been effectually done, and it was he who brought the art to perfection. In the construction of his periods he followed the example of Virgil, who composed much on this principle, with full pauses in the middle of his lines.<sup>2</sup> The skilful management of these pauses is of great importance in determining the *rhythm*; when they occur near the beginning of a line (as in iii. 170, iv. 177,

His construction  
of periods.

lation or retardation to the verse, which the epic demands for variety sake.'

<sup>1</sup> e.g. in Dante's wonderful line—

'Bestemmiavano Iddio  e  i lor parenti.'

There are few Italian lines without at least one instance.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. *Æneid*, ii. 324: 'Venit summa dies . . . Marte resistunt;'  
or vi. 809: 'Quis procul ille . . . immensa cupido.'

178), or about the fourth or fifth measure (as in i. 80, 470 ; ii. 86) the effect is strongly marked.

‘Alliteration,’ or the recurrence of the same consonant, and ‘assonance,’ or the repetition of vowel-sounds with different consonants, are less freely employed in *Paradise Regained* than in *Paradise Lost*.

The comparative rarity of ornamental and descriptive passages, which depend so much for their effect upon these devices, is sufficient to account for the fact. Still there are examples, e.g. ii. 358-360 :

‘Fairer than feigned of old, or fabled since,  
Of faery damsels, met in forests wide  
By knights of Logres, or of Lyones,  
Lancelot, or Pelleas or Pellenore.’

Also—

‘Sharp sleet of arrowy showers,’ &c. (iii. 324),

and—

‘Trills her thick warbled notes,’ &c. (iv. 246).

The assonance of *a* and *i*, combined with the liquid sounds of *r* and *l*, makes melody of the lines :—

‘And *all* the while harmonious *airs* were heard  
Of chiming strings or charming pipes ; and winds  
Of gentlest gale Arabian odours fanned  
From their soft wings, and Flora’s earliest smells ’ (ii. 362-365).

No man ever appreciated the music of words more keenly than Milton ; yet he seldom exaggerates the poet’s privilege in this particular, nor ever sinks into vulgarity, as inferior versifiers have done by their abuse of an instrument which they do not know how to wield. With him ‘the sound’ is always ‘an echo to the sense ;’ and if *Paradise Regained* lacks much of the rich, deep-toned melody of the more famous epic, yet its now rugged now gentler music appeals to the appreciative reader with charms peculiarly its own.

*Paradise Regained* was first published in 1671, though written, as we have seen, probably some five years earlier. It was included in the same volume with *Samson Agonistes*, and as the date of the composition of that poem is uncertain, it is possible that *Paradise Regained* may be Milton's latest poetical work. Internal evidence however does not favour this conclusion; we therefore prefer to follow the commonly received opinion, which places the *Samson* last in chronological order. The volume appears to have been printed at the author's expense, the publisher being 'John Starkey, at the Mitre in Fleet Street, near Temple Bar.' The licence is dated July 2, 1670. The punctuation, as in all the first editions of Milton's poems (except *Paradise Lost*), is very irregular, sometimes positively bad. It is true that Milton, being now blind, could not attend to this himself; but it is a matter about which he was always singularly careless, as appears from existing MSS., and from the 1645 edition of his early poems, revised by his own hand. For instance, the pointing of iv. 21, &c., is as follows:

' So Satan, whom repulse upon repulse  
Met ever; and to shameful silence brought,  
Yet gives not ore though desperate of success.'

Professor Masson gives another instance from ii. 25, &c.:

' Then on the bank of *Jordan*, by a Creek:  
Where winds with Reeds, and Osiers whisp'ring play  
Plain Fishermen, no greater men them call,  
Close in a Cottage low together got  
Their unexpected loss and plaints out breath'd.'

Appended to this first edition is a list of errata, to which occasional reference is made in the notes to the present volume; these errors nevertheless remain uncorrected in the second edition of 1680, issued by the same

publisher. A third edition in folio was brought out by Randal Taylor in 1688, and henceforward the association of *Paradise Regained* with *Samson Agonistes* in a separate volume ceases. In 1695 Tonson published both poems conjointly with the *Poems upon Several Occasions*; and this arrangement was afterwards generally adopted as most convenient. Other editions from the Tonson firm appeared in 1713, 1720, 1747, and 1752. The last of these was Bishop NEWTON'S famous quarto edition with notes, which supplemented his two previous volumes containing *Paradise Lost*, published in 1749. In the Preface, dated December 31, 1751, Newton acknowledges his obligations to Warburton, Jortin, and Thyer, his former coadjutors, to Canon Meadowcourt, of Worcester, and to Mr. Calton, a clergyman of Marton in Lincolnshire, who had favoured him with a long correspondence. This edition was reprinted several times, and 'remained the standard library edition to the close of the century' (Masson, *Intr. to P. L.*, p. 34). In 1795 CHARLES DUNSTER published the *Paradise Regained* separately in a large quarto volume, in which he included the bulk of the notes of Newton and his friends with many valuable additions. In this volume an Argument or summary of contents was prefixed to each Book of the poem, and critical observations appended, which the Rev. H. J. TODD, in his elaborate Variorum edition of 1801, has thrown into the more convenient form of a Preliminary Dissertation. To this last-named work all succeeding editors of Milton are necessarily indebted. It comprises the whole of his poetical works in six volumes, afterwards reduced to four, and contains a vast amount of illustrative matter selected from previous commentaries, chiefly (as regards *Paradise Regained*) from those of Newton and Dunster, and supplemented by Todd himself. This edition is chiefly useful for its collection

Of parallel passages, though many of these have but an indirect bearing upon the matter of the text, and are coincidences of thought rather than originals, from which Milton must necessarily have borrowed. Successive publications of Todd's *Milton* appeared in 1809, 1826, 1842, and 1852, the last a posthumous one.

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Among recent editions I need only mention those by Mr. Keightley (1859), Mr. R. C. Browne, in the Clarendon Press series (1870), and Professor Masson, of Edinburgh in three volumes (1874). From this last especially I have derived much valuable information, which I hope I have in all cases duly acknowledged. I have also to thank Mr. Hales, my co-editor, Professor Morley, the Rev. W. W. Skeat, the Rev. T. L. Davies (author of a very useful little book entitled *Bible English*), and several other friends for their kind assistance in my work. I have ventured several times in the notes to refer to an edition of *Lycidas* and the *Epitaphium Damonis*, published for me by Messrs Longman and Co. in 1874.

The summaries of contents, occurring in the course of the notes, are mainly condensed from Dunster's Argument (see p. xlviii.) The letters *N*, *D*, *K*, refer to the editions of Newton, Dunster, and Keightley respectively.

WOODCOTE HOUSE, WINDLESHAM :

June, 1877.



# PRINCIPAL DATES OF MILTON'S LIFE AND WORKS.

<b>Milton born</b> in Bread Street, Cheapside, December 9 .	<b>1608</b>
Education under T. Young, and at St. Paul's School .	1617-1624
<i>Paraphrase of Psalms</i> cxiv. and cxxxvi. (æet. 15) . . . .	1624
<b>Admitted</b> as Pensioner at Christ's College, Cambridge, February 12. <i>Epistole Familiæres</i> , i., March 26 . . . .	1625
Elegy on <i>Death of a Fair Infant</i> , Latin Elegies on Bishops of Winchester and Ely, Ode <i>In Quintum Novembris</i> .	1626
<i>Vacation Exercise</i> (æet. 19). <i>Epist. Fam.</i> ii.-iv. . . . .	1628
Milton takes his B.A. degree, March 29. Latin Elegy to Diodati, promising ode <b>On the Morning of Christ's Nativity</b> . . . . .	<b>1629</b>
Odes on <i>The Circumcision</i> , <i>The Passion</i> , <i>On Time (?) At a Solemn Music (?)</i> , <i>On May Morning (?)</i> , <i>Epitaph on Shakspeare</i> . . . . .	1630
Epitaphs <i>On the Marchioness of Winchester</i> , <i>On the University Carrier</i> , Sonnet <i>On being arrived at the age of 23</i> . . .	1631
Takes M.A. degree, July 3. Retires to his father's house at Horton. Latin poem <i>Ad Patrem (?)</i> . . . . .	1632
Sonnet <i>To the Nightingale</i> , <b>L'Allegro</b> and <b>Il Penseroso (?)</b> . . . . .	<b>1633</b>
<i>Arcades (?) Comus</i> (September 29). Letter to Gill, enclosing Greek translation of <i>Psalms</i> cxiv. . . . .	<b>1634</b>
Incorporated as M.A. at Oxford . . . . .	1635
Death of his mother, Sara Milton, (April 3). <b>Lycidas</b> . Two letters to Diodati . . . . .	<b>1637</b>
<b>Continental Journey.</b> Visits Florence, Rome, and Naples. On hearing of the Civil War in England he resolves to return. Returns by way of Bologna, Ferrara, and Venice. <i>Italian Sonnets</i> . Death of Diodati. . . .	1638
Homeward journey. <i>Epitaphium Damonis</i> , written probably at Horton . . . . .	1639

- Milton in London, in St. Bride's Churchyard, educating his nephews and pursuing his own studies . . . . 1640-1641
- Afterwards in Aldersgate Street. Jottings of subjects for poems, including first draft of *Paradise Lost*, probably begun at this time. Anti-episcopal Pamphlets. (1) *Of Reformation in England*, (2) *Of Prelatical Episcopacy*, (3) *Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence* (4) *Reason of Church Government* . . . . . 1641
- Still in Aldersgate Street. *ApoLOGY for Smeectymnuus* . . . 1642
- Marries Mary, daughter of Mr. Richard Powell of Forest Hill, near Oxford, in May. Domestic disagreement. Tract on the *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, August 1 . . . 1643
- Sonnets *To the Lady Margaret Ley* and [*To a Virtuous Young Lady*] Tract *On Education* Second Divorce Tract. *Arcopagitica*, for the Liberty of Unlicenced Printing. First symptoms of weak eyesight about this time . . . . . 1644
- More Divorce Tracts, the *Tetrachordon* and *Colasterion*. Milton reconciled to his wife. Removal to Barbican. **First collected Edition of his early Poems, English and Latin** . . . . . 1645
- Sonnets *To Mr. Henry Lawes* (February 9), *On the Forcers of Conscience* (?) . . . . . 1646
- Death of Mr. Powell (January) and of Milton's father (March). Sonnet to the memory of *Mrs. Catherine Thomson*. Latin ode to John Rous (January 23)—Milton busy with his pupils. Removal to Holborn. First project of compiling a *Latin Dictionary*, *History of Britain*, and a *Digest of Christian Doctrine* . . . . . 1647
- Nine of the Psalms* (lxxx.—lxxxviii.) *done into Metre*. Sonnet *On the Lord General Fairfax* . . . . . 1648
- [**Execution of Charles I.**, January 30.] Treatise on *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*. Milton made Latin Secretary to the Parliament (March 15). *Eiconoclastes*. In lodgings at Whitehall . . . . . 1649
- Defensio pro Populo Anglicano*, in reply to Salmasius. Lodgings in Scotland Yard—Eyesight much declining . . . 1650-1651
- Removal to Petty France, Westminster. Sonnets *To the Lord General Cromwell* and *To Sir H. Vane*. Death of Milton's first wife this year or the next (?) . . . . 1652

Translations of Psalms i.-viii. in August . . . . .	1653
Milton totally blind in or about this year. Engaged in private study and work as Latin Secretary with an assistant. <i>Defensio Secunda</i> . . . . .	1654
Sonnets <i>On the late Massacre in Piedmont</i> and <i>On his Blindness</i> (?) . . . . .	1655
Sonnets <i>To Mr. Lawrence</i> (?) and <i>To Cyriack Skinner</i> (?) . . . . .	
Marriage with Catherine Woodcock, November 12 . . . . .	1656
Andrew Marvell associated with Milton as Secretary . . . . .	1657
Death of second wife in February. Sonnet <i>On his Deceased Wife</i> . <b>Paradise Lost</b> begun . . . . .	1658
Treatises <i>On Civil Power, &amp;c.</i> , <i>Likeliest Means to remove Hirelings, &amp;c.</i> , <i>Brief Delineation of a Free Commonwealth</i> . . . . .	1659
<i>Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth</i> [ <b>The Restoration</b> ]. Milton removes to Bartholomew's Close, then to Holborn. Afterwards to Jewin Street, this year or next (?) . . . . .	1660
<i>Accidence</i> commenced <i>Grammar</i> . . . . .	1661
<b>T. Ellwood introduced to Milton.</b> <i>Paradise Lost</i> in progress . . . . .	1662-1663
Milton marries his third wife, Elizabeth Minshull. Removes to Bunhill Fields (?) Year of the Great Plague. Milton goes to Chalfont about May. Ellwood visits him in August, is shown the MS. of <i>Paradise Lost</i> , and suggests <b>Paradise Regained</b> . . . . .	1663
Return to London in the spring. <i>Paradise Regained</i> probably finished this year . . . . .	1666
<b>First Edition of <i>Paradise Lost</i></b> , in ten books, sold to Simmons for 5 <i>l.</i> , April 27. Published August 20 . . . . .	1667
A second 5 <i>l.</i> received for the same, April 26 . . . . .	1669
Milton now engaged upon the <i>Christian Doctrine</i> and <i>History of England</i> . The latter published in . . . . .	1670
<b>Paradise Regained</b> and <b>Samson Agonistes</b> published . . . . .	1671
<i>Treatise on Logic</i> . . . . .	1672
<i>Treatise Of True Religion, &amp;c.</i> New Edition of the <i>Early Poems</i> (see 1645) . . . . .	1673
Collected <i>Epistolæ Familiares</i> . Cambridge <i>Prolusiones</i> . Second Edition of <i>Paradise Lost</i> in twelve books. <b>Death</b> November 8 . . . . .	1674



## PARADISE REGAINED.

### BOOK I.

I, who erewhile the happy garden sung  
By one man's disobedience lost, now sing  
Recovered Paradise to all mankind,  
By one man's firm obedience fully tried  
Through all temptation, and the tempter foiled 5  
In all his wiles, defeated and repulsed,  
And Eden raised in the waste wilderness.

Thou Spirit, who led'st this glorious eremite  
Into the desert, his victorious field,  
Against the spiritual foe, and brought'st him thence 10  
By proof the undoubted Son of God, inspire,  
As thou art wont, my prompted song, else mute ;  
And bear through highth or depth of nature's bounds,  
With prosperous wing full summed, to tell of deeds \*  
Above heroic, though in secret done, 15  
And unrecorded left through many an age ;  
Worthy to have not remained so long unsung.

Now had the great Proclaimer, with a voice  
More awful than the sound of trumpet, cried 20  
Repentance, and Heaven's kingdom nigh at hand  
To all baptised : to his great baptism flock'd

With awe the regions round, and with them came  
 From Nazareth the son of Joseph deemed  
 To the flood Jordan ; came, as then obscure,  
 Unmarked, unknown ; but him the Baptist soon      25  
 Descried, divinely warned, and witness bore  
 As to his worthier, and would have resigned  
 To him his heavenly office ; nor was long  
 His witness unconfirmed : on him baptised  
 Heaven opened, and in likeness of a dove      30  
 The Spirit descended, while the Father's voice  
 From heaven pronounced him his beloved Son.  
 That heard the Adversary, who, roving still  
 About the world, at that assembly famed  
 Would not be last, and with the voice divine      35  
 Nigh thunder-struck, the exalted man, to whom  
 Such high attest was given, a while surveyed  
 With wonder ; then with envy fraught and rage  
 Flies to his place, nor rests, but in mid air  
 To council summons all his mighty peers,      40  
 Within thick clouds and dark tenfold involved,  
 A gloomy consistory ; and them amidst,  
 With looks agast and sad, he thus bespake :  
     ' O ancient Powers of Air, and this wide world  
 (For much more willingly I mention Air,      45  
 This our old conquest, than remember Hell,  
 Our hated habitation), well ye know  
 How many ages, as the years of men,  
 This universe we have possessed, and ruled  
 In manner at our will the affairs of Earth,      50  
 Since Adam and his facile consort Eve  
 Lost Paradise, deceived by me ; though since  
 With dread attending when that fatal wound  
 Shall be inflicted by the seed of Eve  
 Upon my head. Long the decrees of Heaven      55  
 Delay, for longest time to him is short ;

And now, too soon for us, the circling hours  
This dreaded time have compassed, wherein we  
Must bide the stroke of that long-threatened wound  
(At least if so we can, and by the head 60  
Broken be not intended all our power  
To be infringed, our freedom and our being,  
In this fair empire won of Earth and Air) :  
For this ill news I bring, the Woman's Seed,  
Destined to this, is late of woman born : 65  
His birth to our just fear gave no small cause :  
But his growth now to youth's full flower, displaying  
All virtue grace and wisdom to achieve  
Things highest, greatest, multiplies my fear.  
Before him a great prophet, to proclaim 70  
His coming, is sent harbinger, who all  
Invites, and in the consecrated stream  
Pretends to wash off sin, and fit them so  
Purified to receive him pure, or rather  
To do him honour as their king : all come, 75  
And he himself among them was baptised ;  
Not thence to be more pure, but to receive  
The testimony of Heaven, that who he is  
Thenceforth the nations may not doubt. I saw  
The prophet do him reverence ; on him rising 80  
Out of the water heaven above the clouds  
Unfold her crystal doors ; thence on his head  
A perfect dove descend (whate'er it meant),  
And out of heaven the sovran voice I heard,  
" This is my Son beloved,—in him am pleased." 85  
His mother then is mortal, but his Sire  
He who obtains the monarchy of heaven :  
And what will he not do to advance his Son  
His first-begot we know, and sore have felt,  
When his fierce thunder drove us to the deep ; 90  
Who this is we must learn, for Man he seems

In all his lineaments, though in his face  
 The glimpses of his Father's glory shine.  
 Ye see our danger on the utmost edge  
 Of hazard, which admits no long debate, 95  
 But must with something sudden be opposed  
 (Not force, but well-couched fraud, well-woven snares),  
 Ere in the head of nations he appear,  
 Their king, their leader, and supreme on earth.  
 I, when no other durst, sole undertook 100.  
 The dismal expedition, to find out  
 And ruin Adam, and the exploit performed  
 Successfully : a calmer voyage now  
 Will waft me, and the way found prosperous once  
 Induces best to hope of like success.' 105  
 He ended, and his words impression left  
 Of much amazement to the infernal crew,  
 Distracted and surprised with deep dismay  
 At these sad tidings ; but no time was then  
 For long indulgence to their fears or grief. 110  
 Unanimous they all commit the care  
 And management of this main enterprise  
 To him their great Dictator, whose attempt  
 At first against mankind so well had thrived  
 In Adam's overthrow, and led their march 115  
 From Hell's deep-vaulted den to dwell in light,  
 Regents and potentates and kings, yea gods,  
 Of many a pleasant realm and province wide.  
 So to the coast of Jordan he directs  
 His easy steps, girded with snaky wiles, 120  
 Where he might likeliest find this new-declared,  
 This Man of men, attested Son of God,  
 Temptation and all guile on him to try ;  
 So to subvert whom he suspected raised  
 To end his reign on earth, so long enjoyed : 125  
 But contrary unweeting he fulfilled

The purposed counsel, pre-ordained and fixed,  
Of the Most High, who in full frequency bright  
Of angels thus to Gabriel smiling spake :  
' Gabriel, this day by proof thou shalt behold, 130  
Thou and all angels conversant on earth  
With man or men's affairs, how I begin  
To verify that solemn message late,  
On which I sent thee to the virgin pure  
In Galilee, that she should bear a son, 135  
Great in renown and call'd the Son of God :  
Then told'st her, doubting how these things could be  
To her a virgin, that on her should come  
The Holy Ghost, and the power of the Highest  
O'ershadow her. This man, born and now upgrown, 140  
To show him worthy of his birth divine  
And high prediction, henceforth I expose  
To Satan : let him tempt, and now assay  
His utmost subtlety, because he boasts  
And vaunts of his great cunning to the throng 145  
Of his apostasy ; he might have learnt  
Less overweening, since he failed in Job,  
Whose constant perseverance overcame  
Whate'er his cruel malice could invent.  
He now shall know I can produce a man, 150  
Of female seed, far abler to resist  
All his solicitations, and at length  
All his vast force, and drive him back to Hell ;  
Winning by conquest what the first man lost,  
By fallacy surprised. But first I mean 155  
To exercise him in the wilderness ;  
There he shall first lay down the rudiments  
Of his great warfare, ere I send him forth  
To conquer Sin and Death, the two grand foes.  
By humiliation and strong sufferance 160  
His weakness shall o'ercome Satanic strength,



And all the world, and mass of sinful flesh ;  
 That all the angels and ethereal powers,  
 They now and men hereafter, may discern,  
 From what consummate virtue I have chose 165  
 ¶ This perfect man, by merit called my Son,  
 To earn salvation for the sons of men.'

So spake the Eternal Father, and all Heaven  
 Admiring stood a space ; then into hymns  
 Burst forth, and in celestial measures moved, 170  
 Circling the throne and singing, while the hand  
 Sung with the voice, and this the argument :

' Victory and triumph to the Son of God,  
 Now entering his great duel, not of arms,  
 But to vanquish by wisdom hellish wiles ! 175  
 The Father knows the Son ; therefore secure  
 Ventures his filial virtue, though untried,  
 Against whate'er may tempt, whate'er seduce,  
 Allure, or terrify, or undermine.

¶ Be frustrate, all ye stratagems of Hell, 180  
 And devilish machinations, come to naught !'

So they in Heaven their odes and vigils tuned.  
 Meanwhile, the Son of God, who yet some days  
 Lodged in Bethabara, where John baptised,  
 Musing and much revolving in his breast, 185  
 How best the mighty work he might begin  
 Of Saviour to mankind, and which way first  
 Publish his god-like office now mature,  
 One day forth walk'd alone, the Spirit leading  
 And his deep thoughts, the better to converse 190  
 With solitude, till far from track of men,  
 Thought following thought, and step by step led on,  
 He entered now the bordering desert wild,  
 And, with dark shades and rocks environed round,  
 His holy meditations thus pursued : 195

' O what a multitude of thoughts at once

Awakened in me swarm, while I consider  
What from within I feel myself, and hear  
What from without comes often to my ears,  
Ill sorting with my present state compared ! 200  
When I was yet a child, no childish play  
To me was pleasing ; all my mind was set  
Serious to learn and know, and thence to do  
What might be public good ; myself I thought  
Born to that end, born to promote all truth, 205  
All righteous things : therefore above my years  
The law of God I read, and found it sweet ;  
Made it my whole delight, and in it grew  
To such perfection, that ere yet my age  
Had measured twice six years, at our great feast 210  
I went into the temple, there to hear  
The teachers of our law, and to propose  
What might improve my knowledge or their own ;  
And was admired by all : yet this not all  
To which my spirit aspired ; victorious deeds 215  
Flamed in my heart, heroic acts, one while  
To rescue Israel from the Roman yoke ;  
Then to subdue and quell, o'er all the earth,  
Brute violence and proud tyrannic power,  
Till truth were freed and equity restored : 220  
Yet held it more humane, more heavenly, first  
By winning words to conquer willing hearts,  
And make persuasion do the work of fear ;  
At least to try, and teach the erring soul,  
Not wilfully misdoing, but unaware 225  
Mised ; the stubborn only to subdue.  
These growing thoughts my mother soon perceiving  
By words at times cast forth inly rejoiced,  
And said to me apart, " High are thy thoughts  
O Son ! but nourish them, and let them soar 230  
To what highth sacred virtue and true worth

Can raise them, though above example high ;  
By matchless deeds express thy matchless Sire.  
| For know, thou art no son of mortal man ;  
Though men esteem thee low of parentage, 235  
| Thy Father is the Eternal King, who rules  
All Heaven and earth, angels and sons of men ;  
A messenger from God foretold thy birth  
Conceived in me a virgin ; he foretold  
Thou shouldst be great, and sit on David's throne, 240  
And of thy kingdom there should be no end.  
At thy nativity a glorious quire  
Of angels in the fields of Bethlehem sung  
To shepherds, watching at their folds by night,  
And told them the Messiah now was born, 245  
Where they might see him, and to thee they came,  
Directed to the manger where thou lay'st,  
For in the inn was left no better room:  
A star, not seen before, in heaven appearing,  
Guided the wise men thither from the East, 250  
To honour thee with incense, myrrh, and gold ;  
By whose bright course led on they found the place,  
Affirming it thy star, new-graven in heaven,  
By which they knew thee king of Israel born.  
Just Simeon and prophetic Anna, warned 255  
By vision, found thee in the temple, and spake  
Before the altar and the vested priest  
Like things of thee to all that present stood."  
This having heard, straight I again revolved  
The law and prophets, searching what was writ 260  
Concerning the Messiah, to our scribes  
Known partly, and soon found of whom they spake  
I am ; this chiefly, that my way must lie  
Through many a hard assay, even to the death,  
Ere I the promis'd kingdom can attain, 265  
Or work redemption for mankind, whose sins'

Full weight must be transferred upon my head.  
Yet, neither thus disheartened, or dismayed,  
The time prefixed I waited ; when behold  
The Baptist (of whose birth I oft had heard, 270  
Not knew by sight) now come, who was to come  
Before Messiah and his way prepare !  
I, as all others, to his baptism came,  
Which I believed was from above ; but he  
Straight knew me, and with loudest voice proclaimed 275  
Me him (for it was shown him so from Heaven),  
Me him, whose harbinger he was ; and first  
Refused on me his baptism to confer,  
As much his greater, and was hardly won.  
But, as I rose out of the laving stream, 280  
Heaven opened her eternal doors, from whence  
The Spirit descended on me like a dove ;  
And last, the sum of all, my Father's voice,  
Audibly heard from Heaven, pronounced me his,  
Me his beloved Son, in whom alone 285  
He was well pleased ; by which I knew the time  
Now full, that I no more should live obscure ;  
But openly begin, as best becomes  
The authority which I derived from Heaven.  
And now by some strong motion I am led 290  
Into this wilderness, to what intent  
I learn not yet ; perhaps I need not know ;  
For what concerns my knowledge God reveals.'  
So spake our Morning Star, then in his rise,  
And looking round on every side beheld 295  
A pathless desert, dusk with horrid shades ;  
The way he came not having marked, return  
Was difficult, by human steps untrod ;  
And he still on was led, but with such thoughts  
Accompanied of things past and to come 300  
Lodged in his breast, as well might recommend

Such solitude before choicest society.  
 Full forty days he pass'd — whether on hill  
 Sometimes, anon in shady vale, each night  
 Under the covert of some ancient oak, 305  
 Or cedar, to defend him from the dew,  
 Or harboured in one cave, is not revealed ;  
 Nor tasted human food nor hunger felt,  
 Till those days ended ; hungered then at last  
 Among wild beasts : they at his sight grew mild, 310  
 Nor sleeping him nor waking harmed ; his walk  
 The fiery serpent fled and noxious worm ;  
 The lion and fierce tiger glared aloof.  
 But now an aged man in rural weeds,  
 Following, as seem'd, the quest of some stray ewe, 315  
 Or withered sticks to gather, which might serve  
 Against a winter's day, when winds blow keen,  
 To warm him wet returned from field at eve,  
 He saw approach, who first with curious eye  
 Perused him, then with words thus uttered spake : 320  
     'Sir, what ill chance hath brought thee to this place,  
 So far from path or road of men, who pass  
 In troop or caravan ? for single none  
 Durst ever, who returned, and dropt not here  
 His carcass, pined with hunger and with droughth, 325  
 I ask the rather, and the more admire,  
 For that to me thou seem'st the man, whom late  
 Our new baptising prophet at the ford  
 Of Jordan honoured so, and call'd thee Son  
 Of God : I saw and heard, for we sometimes 330  
 Who dwell this wild, constrained by want, come forth  
 To town or village nigh (nighest is far),  
 Where aught we hear, and curious are to hear  
 What happens new ; fame also finds us out.'  
 To whom the Son of God : ' Who brought me hither, 335  
 Will bring me hence ; no other guide I seek.'

‘By miracle he may,’ replied the swain ;  
‘What other way I see not ; for we here  
Live on tough roots and stubs, to thirst inured  
More than the camel, and to drink go far ; 340  
Men to much misery and hardship born.

But, if thou be the Son of God, command  
That out of these hard stones be made thee bread :  
So shalt thou save thyself, and us relieve  
With food, whereof we wretched seldom taste.’ 345

He ended, and the Son of God replied :  
‘Think’st thou such force in bread ? Is it not written,  
(For I discern thee other than thou seem’st)  
Man lives not by bread only, but each word  
Proceeding from the mouth of God, who fed 350  
Our fathers here with manna ; in the mount  
Moses was forty days, nor eat nor drank ;  
And forty days, Elijah without food  
Wandered this barren waste ; the same I now :  
Why dost thou then suggest to me distrust, 355  
Knowing who I am, as I know who thou art ?’

Whom thus answered the Arch-fiend, now undisguised :  
‘’Tis true, I am that spirit unfortunate,  
Who, leagued with millions more in rash revolt,  
Kept not my happy station, but was driven 360  
With them from bliss to the bottomless deep ;  
Yet to that hideous place not so confined  
By rigour unconniving, but that oft,  
Leaving my dolorous prison, I enjoy  
Large liberty to round this globe of earth, 365  
Or range in the air ; nor from the Heaven of heavens  
Hath he excluded my resort sometimes.  
I came among the sons of God, when he  
Gave up into my hands Uzzean Job,  
To prove him, and illustrate his high worth ; 370  
And when to all his angels he proposed

To draw the proud king Ahab into fraud,  
 That he might fall in Ramoth, they demurring,  
 I undertook that office, and the tongues  
 Of all his flattering prophets glibbed with lies 375  
 To his destruction, as I had in charge ;  
 For what he bids I do. Though I have lost  
 Much lustre of my native brightness, lost  
 To be beloved of God, I have not lost  
 To love, at least contemplate and admire, 380  
 What I see excellent in good, or fair,  
 Or virtuous ; I should so have lost all sense :  
 What can be then less in me than desire  
 To see thee, and approach thee, whom I know  
Declared the Son of God, to hear attent 385  
 Thy wisdom, and behold thy god-like deeds ?  
 Men generally think me much a foe  
 To all mankind : why should I ? they to me  
 Never did wrong or violence : by them  
 I lost not what I lost ; rather by them 390  
 I gained what I have gained, and with them dwell,  
 Copartner in these regions of the world,  
 If not disposer ; lend them oft my aid,  
 Oft my advice by presages and signs  
 And answers, oracles, portents and dreams, 395  
 Whereby they may direct their future life.  
 Envy they say excites me, thus to gain  
 Companions of my misery and woe.  
 At first it may be ; but long since with woe  
 Nearer acquainted, now I feel by proof 400  
 That fellowship in pain divides not smart,  
 Nor lightens aught each man's peculiar load ;  
 Small consolation then, were Man adjoin'd.  
 This wounds me most (what can it less ?) that Man,  
 Man fallen, shall be restored ; I never more.' 405  
 To whom our Saviour sternly thus replied :

‘Deservedly thou griev’st, composed of lies  
From the beginning, and in lies wilt end ;  
Who boast’st release from Hell, and leave to come  
Into the Heaven of heavens : thou com’st indeed, 410  
As a poor miserable captive thrall  
Comes to the place where he before had sat  
Among the prime in splendour, now deposed,  
Ejected, emptied, gazed, unpitied, shunned,  
A spectacle of ruin or of scorn 415  
To all the host of Heaven ; the happy place  
Imparts to thee no happiness, no joy—  
Rather inflames thy torment, representing  
Lost bliss, to thee no more communicable ;  
So never more in Hell than when in Heaven. 420  
But thou art serviceable to Heaven’s King !  
Wilt thou impute to obedience what thy fear  
Extorts, or pleasure to do ill excites ?  
What but thy malice moved thee to misdeem  
Of righteous Job, then cruelly to afflict him 425  
With all inflictions ? but his patience won.  
The other service was thy chosen task,  
To be a liar in four hundred mouths ;  
For lying is thy sustenance, thy food.  
Yet thou pretend’st to truth ; all oracles 430  
By thee are given, and what confessed more true  
Among the nations ? that hath been thy craft,  
By mixing somewhat true to vent more lies.  
But what have been thy answers ? what but dark,  
Ambiguous, and with double sense deluding, 435  
Which they who asked have seldom understood,  
And not well understood as good not known ?  
Who ever, by consulting at thy shrine,  
Returned the wiser, or the more instruct  
To fly or follow what concerned him most, 440  
And run not sooner to his fatal snare ?



For God hath justly given the nations up  
To thy delusions ; justly, since they fell  
Idoltrous : but, when his purpose is  
Among them to declare his providence, 445  
To thee not known, whence hast thou then thy truth,  
But from him, or his angels president  
In every province, who, themselves disdaining  
To approach thy temples, give thee in command  
What to the smallest tittle thou shalt say 450  
To thy adorers ? Thou with trembling fear,  
Or like a fawning parasite, obey'st :  
Then to thyself ascrib'st the truth foretold.  
But this thy glory shall be soon retrenched ;  
No more shalt thou by oracling abuse 455  
The Gentiles ; henceforth oracles are ceased,  
And thou no more with pomp and sacrifice  
Shalt be inquired at Delphos or elsewhere ;  
At least in vain, for they shall find thee mute.  
God hath now sent his living Oracle 460  
Into the world to teach his final will ;  
And sends his Spirit of truth henceforth to dwell  
In pious hearts, an inward oracle  
To all truth requisite for men to know.'  
So spake our Saviour ; but the subtle fiend, 465  
Though inly stung with anger and disdain,  
Dissembled, and this answer smooth returned :  
' Sharply thou hast insisted on rebuke,  
And urged me hard with doings, which not will  
But misery hath wrested from me. Where 470  
Easily canst thou find one miserable,  
And not enforced oft-times to part from truth,  
If it may stand him more in stead to lie,  
Say and unsay, feign, flatter, or abjure ?  
But thou art placed above me, thou art Lord : 475  
From thee I can, and must submit endure

Check or reproof, and glad to scape so quit.  
Hard are the ways of truth, and rough to walk,  
Smooth on the tongue discoursed, pleasing to the ear,  
And tunable as sylvan pipe or song ; 480  
What wonder then if I delight to hear  
Her dictates from thy mouth ? Most men admire  
Virtue, who follow not her lore : permit me  
To hear thee when I come (since no man comes),  
And talk at least, though I despair to attain. 485  
Thy Father, who is holy, wise, and pure,  
Suffers the hypocrite or atheous priest  
To tread his sacred courts, and minister  
About his altar, handling holy things,  
Praying or vowing ; and vouchsafed his voice 490  
To Balaam reprobate, a prophet yet  
Inspired : disdain not such access to me.'

To whom our Saviour, with unaltered brow :  
'Thy coming hither, though I know thy scope,  
I bid not, or forbid ; do as thou find'st 495  
Permission from above ; thou canst not more.'

He added not ; and Satan, bowing low  
His gray dissimulation, disappeared  
Into thin air diffused : for now began  
Night with her sullen wings to double-shade 500  
The desert , fowls in their clay nests were couched ;  
And now wild beasts came forth the woods to roam.

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## BOOK II.

MEANWHILE the new-baptised, who yet remain'd  
At Jordan with the Baptist, and had seen  
Him whom they heard so late expressly called  
Jesus Messiah, Son of God declared,  
And on that high authority had believed, 5  
And with him talked, and with him lodged—I mean  
Andrew and Simon, famous after known,  
With others, though in Holy Writ not named—  
Now missing him, their joy so lately found  
(So lately found, and so abruptly gone), 10  
Began to doubt, and doubted many days,  
And, as the days increased, increased their doubt.  
Sometimes they thought he might be only shown,  
And for a time caught up to God, as once  
Moses was in the mount and missing long ; 15  
And the great Thibite, who on fiery wheels  
Rode up to heaven, yet once again to come.  
Therefore, as those young prophets then with care  
Sought lost Elijah, so in each place these  
Nigh to Bethabara ; in Jericho, 20  
The city of palms, Ænon, and Salem old,  
Machærus, and each town or city walled  
On this side the broad lake Genezaret,  
Or in Perea ; but returned in vain.  
Then on the bank of Jordan by a creek, 25  
Where winds with reeds and osiers whispering play,  
Plain fishermen (no greater men them call),  
Close in a cottage low together got,  
Their unexpected loss and complaints outbreathed :  
‘Alas, from what high hope to what relapse 30

Unlooked for are we fallen ! our eyes beheld  
Messiah certainly now come, so long  
Expected of our fathers ; we have heard  
His words, his wisdom full of grace and truth,  
“ Now, now, for sure, deliverance is at hand,  
The kingdom shall to Israel be restored ; ”  
Thus we rejoiced, but soon our joy is turned  
Into perplexity and new amaze :  
For whither is he gone ? what accident  
Hath rapt him from us ? will he now retire,  
After appearance, and again prolong  
Our expectation ? God of Israel,  
Send thy Messiah forth ; the time is come.  
Behold the kings of the earth, how they oppress  
Thy chosen ; to what highth their power unjust  
They have exalted, and behind them cast  
All fear of thee : arise, and vindicate  
Thy glory ; free thy people from their yoke !  
But let us wait ; thus far he hath performed,  
Sent his Anointed, and to us revealed him,  
By his great prophet, pointed at and shown  
In public, and with him we have conversed ;  
Let us be glad of this, and all our fears  
Lay on his providence ; he will not fail,  
Nor will withdraw him now nor will recall,  
Mock us with his blest sight, then snatch him hence :  
Soon we shall see our hope, our joy, return.’  
Thus they out of their complaints new hope resume  
To find whom at the first they found unsought :  
But to his mother Mary, when she saw  
Others returned from baptism, not her son,  
Nor left at Jordan, tidings of him none,  
Within her breast though calm, her breast though pure,  
Motherly cares and fears got head, and raised  
Some troubled thoughts, which she in sighs thus clad :

' Oh, what avails me now that honour high,  
 To have conceived of God, or that salute,  
 " Hail, highly favoured, among women blest !"  
 While I to sorrows am no less advanced,  
 And fears as eminent, above the lot 70  
 Of other women, by the birth I bore ;  
 In such a season born, when scarce a shed  
 Could be obtained to shelter him or me  
 From the bleak air : a stable was our warmth,  
 A manger his ; yet soon enforced to fly 75  
 Thence into Egypt, till the murderous king  
 Were dead, who sought his life, and missing filled  
 With infant blood the streets of Bethlehem ;  
 From Egypt home returned, in Nazareth  
 Hath been our dwelling many years ; his life 80  
 Private, unactive, calm, contemplative,  
 Little suspicious to any king ; but now  
 Full grown to man, acknowledged, as I hear,  
 By John the Baptist, and in public shown,  
 Son owned from heaven by his Father's voice, 85  
 I looked for some great change ; to honour ? no ;  
 But trouble, as old Simeon plain foretold,  
 That to the fall and rising he should be  
 Of many in Israel, and to a sign  
 Spoken against, that through my very soul 90  
 A sword shall pierce ; this is my favoured lot,  
 My exaltation to afflictions high !  
 Afflicted I may be, it seems, and blest ;  
 I will not argue that, nor will repine.  
 But where delays he now ? some great intent 95  
 Conceals him : when twelve years he scarce had seen,  
 I lost him, but so found, as well I saw  
 He could not lose himself, but went about  
 His Father's business : what he meant I mused,  
 Since understand ; much more his absence now 100

Thus long to some great purpose he obscures.  
But I to wait with patience am inured ;  
My heart hath been a storehouse long of things  
And sayings laid up, portending strange events.'

Thus Mary, pondering oft, and oft to mind 105  
Recalling what remarkably had passed

Since first her salutation heard, with thoughts  
Meekly composed awaited the fulfilling :  
The while her Son, tracing the desert wild,  
Sole, but with holiest meditations fed, 110

Into himself descended, and at once  
All his great work to come before him set ;  
How to begin, how to accomplish best  
His end of being on earth, and mission high ;  
For Satan, with sly preface to return, 115

Had left him vacant, and with speed was gone  
Up to the middle region of thick air,  
Where all his potentates in council sat ;  
There, without sign of boast or sign of joy,  
Solicitous and blank he thus began : 120

' Princes, Heaven's ancient sons, ethereal Thrones ;  
Demonian Spirits now, from the element  
Each of his reign allotted, rightlier called  
Powers of Fire, Air, Water, and Earth beneath,  
So may we hold our place and these mild seats 125

Without new trouble ; such an enemy  
Is risen to invade us, who no less  
Threatens than our expulsion down to Hell ;  
I, as I undertook, and with the vote  
Consenting in full frequency was empowered, 130

Have found him, viewed him, tasted him ; but find  
Far other labour to be undergone  
Than when I dealt with Adam, first of men ;  
Though Adam by his wife's allurements fell,  
However so this man inferior far— 135

If he be man by mother's side, at least  
 With more than human gifts from heaven adorned,  
 Perfections absolute, graces divine,  
 And amplitude of mind to greatest deeds.  
 Therefore I am returned, lest confidence 140  
 Of my success with Eve in Paradise  
 Deceive ye to persuasion over-sure  
 Of like succeeding here ; I summon all  
 Rather to be in readiness, with hand  
 Or counsel to assist ; lest I, who erst 145  
 Thought none my equal, now be over-matched.'

So spake the old Serpent, doubting ; and from all  
 With clamour was assured their utmost aid  
 At his command : when from amidst them rose  
 Belial, the dissolutes spirit that fell, 150

The sensualest, and after Asmodai  
 The fleshliest incubus, and thus advised :  
 ' Set women in his eye, and in his walk,  
 Among daughters of men the fairest found.  
 Many are in each region passing fair 155

As the noon sky, more like to goddesses  
 Than mortal creatures, graceful and discreet,  
 Expert in amorous arts, enchanting tongues  
 Persuasive, virgin majesty with mild  
 And sweet allayed, yet terrible to approach, 160

Skilled to retire, and in retiring draw  
 Hearts after them tangled in amorous nets.  
 Such object hath the power to soften and tame  
 Severest temper, smoothe the rugged'st brow,  
 Enerve, and with voluptuous hope dissolve, 165

Draw out with credulous desire, and lead  
 At will the manliest, resolute breast,  
 As the magnetic hardest iron draws.  
 Women, when nothing else, beguiled the heart  
 Of wisest Solomon, and made him build, 170

And made him bow to the gods of his wives.'

To whom quick answer Satan thus return'd :

'Belial, in much uneven scale thou weigh'st

All others by thyself ; because of old

Thou thyself doat'st on womankind, admiring 175

Their shape, their colour, and attractive grace,

None are, thou think'st, but taken with such toys.

Before the flood thou with thy lusty crew,

False titled sons of God, roaming the earth,

Cast wanton eyes on the daughters of men, 180

And coupled with them, and begot a race.

Have we not seen, or by relation heard,

In courts and regal chambers how thou lurk'st,

In wood or grove, by mossy fountain side,

In valley or green meadow, to waylay 185

Some beauty rare, Calisto, Clymene,

Daphne, or Semele, Antiopa,

Or Amymone, Syrinx, many more

Too long, then lay'st thy scales on names adored,

Apollo, Neptune, Jupiter, or Pan, 190

Satyr, or Faun, or Silvan ? But these haunts

Delight not all ; among the sons of men,

How many have with a smile made small account

Of beauty and her lures, easily scorned

All her assaults, on worthier things intent ! 195

Remember that Pellean conqueror,

A youth, how all the beauties of the East

He slightly viewed, and slightly overpassed ;

How he surnamed of Africa dismissed

In his prime youth the fair Iberian maid. 200

For Solomon, he lived at ease, and full

Of honour, wealth, high fare, aimed not beyond

Higher design than to enjoy his state ;

Thence to the bait of women lay exposed :

But he whom we attempt is wiser far 205

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Than Solomon, of more exalted mind,  
 Made and set wholly on the accomplishment  
 Of greatest things. What woman will you find,  
 Though of this age the wonder and the fame,  
 On whom his leisure will vouchsafe an eye 210  
 Of fond desire? Or should she confident,  
 As sitting queen adored on Beauty's throne,  
 Descend with all her winning charms begirt  
 To enamour, as the zone of Venus once  
 Wrought that effect on Jove, so fables tell; 215  
 How would one look from his majestic brow  
 Seated as on the top of Virtue's hill,  
 Discountenance her despised, and put to rout  
 All her array; her female pride deject,  
 Or turn to reverent awe! for beauty stands 220  
 In the admiration only of weak minds  
 Led captive; cease to admire, and all her plumes  
 Fall flat, and shrink into a trivial toy,  
 At every sudden slighting quite abashed.  
 Therefore with manlier objects we must try 225  
 His constancy; with such as have more show  
 Of worth, of honour, glory, and popular praise,  
 Rocks whereon greatest men have ofttest wrecked;  
 Or that which only seems to satisfy  
 Lawful desires of nature, not beyond; 230  
 And now I know he hungers, where no food  
 Is to be found, in the wide wilderness:  
 The rest commit to me; I shall let pass  
 No advantage, and his strength as oft assay.

He ceased, and heard their grant in loud acclaim; 235  
 Then forthwith to him takes a chosen band  
 Of spirits, likest to himself in guile,  
 To be at hand and at his beck appear,  
 If cause were to unfold some active scene  
 Of various persons, each to know his part; 240

Then to the desert takes with these his flight ;  
Where still from shade to shade the Son of God  
After forty days' fasting, had remained,  
Now hungering first, and to himself thus said :

‘ Where will this end ? four times ten days I’ve passed  
Wandering this woody maze, and human food 240  
Nor tasted, nor had appetite : that fast  
To virtue I impute not, or count part  
Of what I suffer here ; if nature need not,  
Or God support nature without repast, 250  
Though needing, what praise is it to endure ?  
But now I feel I hunger, which declares  
Nature hath need of what she asks ; yet God  
Can satisfy that need some other way,  
Though hunger still remain : so it remain 255  
Without this body’s wasting, I content me,  
And from the sting of famine fear no harm ;  
Nor mind it, fed with better thoughts, that feed  
Me hungering more to do my Father’s will.’

It was the hour of night, when thus the Son 260  
Communed in silent walk, then laid him down  
Under the hospitable covert nigh  
Of trees thick interwoven ; there he slept,  
And dreamed, as appetite is wont to dream,  
Of meats and drinks, nature’s refreshment sweet : 265  
Him thought, he by the brook of Cherith stood,  
And saw the ravens with their horny beaks  
Food to Elijah bringing even and morn,  
Though ravenous, taught to abstain from what they  
brought.

He saw the prophet also, how he fled 270  
Into the desert, and how there he slept  
Under a juniper ; then how awaked  
He found his supper on the coals prepared,  
And by the angel was bid rise and eat,

And eat the second time after repose, 275  
 The strength whereof sufficed him forty days :  
 Sometimes that with Elijah he partook,  
 Or as a guest with Daniel at his pulse.  
 Thus wore out night ; and now the herald lark  
 Left his ground-nest, high towering to descry 280  
 The morn's approach, and greet her with his song;  
 As lightly from his grassy couch up rose  
 Our Saviour, and found all was but a dream ;  
 Fasting he went to sleep, and fasting waked.  
 Up to a hill anon his steps he reared, 285  
 From whose high top to ken the prospect round,  
 If cottage were in view, sheep-cote, or herd ;  
 But cottage, herd, or sheep-cote, none he saw ;  
 Only in a bottom saw a pleasant grove  
 With chant of tuneful birds resounding loud : 290  
 Thither he bent his way, determined there  
 To rest at noon, and entered soon the shade  
 High roofed, and walks beneath, and alleys brown  
 That opened in the midst a woody scene ;  
 Nature's own work it seemed (Nature taught Art), 295  
 And to a superstitious eye the haunt  
 Of wood-gods and wood-nymphs : he viewed it round,  
 When suddenly a man before him stood.  
 Not rustic as before, but seemlier clad,  
 As one in city or court or palace bred, 300  
 And with fair speech these words to him addressed :  
 ' With granted leave officious I return,  
 But much more wonder that the Son of God  
 In this wild solitude so long should bide,  
 Of all things destitute : and well I know, 305  
 Not without hunger. Others of some note,  
 As story tells, have trod this wilderness ;  
 The fugitive bond-woman, with her son,  
 Outcast Nebaioth, yet found here relief

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Freshet or purling brook of shell or fin, 345  
 And exquisitest name, for which was drained  
 Pontus, and Lucrine bay, and Afric coast.

Alas ! how simple to these cates compared  
 Was that crude apple that diverted Eve !  
 And at a stately sideboard by the wine, 350

That fragrant smell diffused, in order stood  
 Tall stripling youths rich clad, of fairer hue  
 Than Ganymed or Hylas ; distant more  
 Under the trees now tripped, now solemn stood,  
 Nymphs of Diana's train, and Naiades 355

With fruits and flowers from Amalthea's horn,  
 And ladies of the Hesperides, that seemed  
 Fairer than feigned of old, or fabled since

Of fairy damsels met in forest wide  
 By knights of Logres or of Lyones, 360  
 Lancelot or Pelleas or Pellenore.

And all the while harmonious airs were heard  
 Of chiming strings or charming pipes, and winds  
 Of gentlest gale Arabian odours fanned  
 From their soft wings, and Flora's earliest smells. 365  
 Such was the splendour ; and the tempter now  
 His invitation earnestly renewed :

‘ What doubts the Son of God to sit and eat ?  
 These are not fruits forbidden ; no interdict  
 Defends the touching of these viands pure ; 370  
 Their taste no knowledge works, at least of evil,  
 But life preserves, destroys life's enemy,  
 Hunger, with sweet restorative delight.

All these are spirits of air, and woods, and springs,  
 Thy gentle ministers, who come to pay 375  
 Thee homage, and acknowledge thee their Lord ;  
 What doubt'st thou, Son of God ? Sit down and eat.’

To whom thus Jesus temperately replied :  
 ‘ Said'st thou not that to all things I had right ?

And who withholds my power that right to use ? 380  
Shall I receive by gift what of my own,  
When and where likes me best, I can command ?  
I can at will, doubt not, as soon as thou,  
Command a table in this wilderness,  
And call swift flights of angels ministrant, 385  
Arrayed in glory, on my cup to attend :  
Why shouldst thou then obtrude this diligence,  
In vain, where no acceptance it can find ?  
And with my hunger what hast thou to do ?  
Thy pompous delicacies I condemn, 390  
And count thy specious gifts no gifts, but guiles.’  
To whom thus answered Satan malcontent :  
‘That I have also power to give, thou seest ;  
If of that power I bring thee voluntary  
What I might have bestowed on whom I pleased, 395  
And rather opportunely in this place  
Chose to impart to thy apparent need,  
Why shouldst thou not accept it ? but I see  
What I can do or offer is suspect :  
Of these things others quickly will dispose, 400  
Whose pains have earned the far-fet spoil.’ With that  
Both table and provision vanished quite,  
With sound of harpies’ wings and talons heard :  
Only the importune tempter still remained,  
And with these words his temptation pursued : 405  
‘By hunger, that each other creature tames,  
Thou art not to be harmed, therefore not moved ;  
Thy temperance, invincible besides,  
For no allurement yields to appetite ;  
And all thy heart is set on high designs, 410  
High actions ; but wherewith to be achieved ?  
Great acts require great means of enterprise ;  
Thou art unknown, unfriended, low of birth,  
A carpenter thy father known, thyself

Bred up in poverty and straits at home, 415  
 Lost in a desert here, and hunger-bit :  
 Which way, or from what hope, dost thou aspire  
 To greatness? whence authority deriv'st?  
 What followers, what retinue canst thou gain,  
 Or at thy heels the dizzy multitude, 420  
 Longer than thou canst feed them on thy cost?  
 | Money brings honour, friends, conquest, and realms.  
 What raised Antipater the Edomite,  
 And his son Herod placed on Judah's throne 424  
 (Thy throne), but gold, that got him puissant friends?  
 Therefore, if at great things thou wouldst arrive,  
 Get riches first, get wealth, and treasure heap,  
 Not difficult, if thou hearken to me :  
 Riches are mine, fortune is in my hand ;  
 They whom I favour thrive in wealth amain ; 430  
 | While virtue, valour, wisdom, sit in want.'  
 To whom thus Jesus patiently replied :  
 ' Yet wealth without these three is impotent  
 To gain dominion, or to keep it gained.  
 Witness those ancient empires of the earth, 435  
 In highth of all their flowing wealth dissolved :  
 But men endued with these have oft attained  
 In lowest poverty to highest deeds ;  
 Gideon and Jephtha, and the shepherd lad,  
 Whose offspring on the throne of Judah sat 440  
 So many ages, and shall yet regain  
 That seat, and reign in Israel without end.  
 Among the heathen, (for throughout the world  
 To me is not unknown what hath been done  
 Worthy of memorial,) canst thou not remember 445  
 Quinuis, Fabricius, Curius, Regulus ?  
 For I esteem those names of men so poor,  
 Who could do mighty things, and could contemn  
 Riches, though offered from the hand of kings.  
 And what in me seems wanting, but that I 450

May also in this poverty as soon  
Accomplish what they did, perhaps and more?  
Extol not riches then, the toil of fools,  
The wise man's cumbrance, if not snare ; more apt  
To slacken virtue and abate her edge, 455  
Than prompt her to do aught may merit praise.  
What if with like aversion I reject  
Riches and realms ? yet not for that a crown,  
Golden in show, is but a wreath of thorns,  
Brings dangers, troubles, cares, and sleepless nights,  
To him who wears the regal diadem, 461  
When on his shoulders each man's burden lies ;  
For therein stands the office of a king,  
His honour, virtue, merit, and chief praise,  
That for the public all this weight he bears : 465  
Yet he, who reigns within himself and rules  
Passions, desires, and fears, is more a king ;  
Which every wise and virtuous man attains ;  
And who attains not, ill aspires to rule  
Cities of men, or headstrong multitudes, 470  
Subject himself to anarchy within,  
Or lawless passions in him which he serves.  
But to guide nations in the way of truth  
By saving doctrine, and from error lead,  
To know, and knowing worship God aright, 475  
Is yet more kingly ; this attracts the soul,  
Governs the inner man, the nobler part ;  
That other o'er the body only reigns,  
And oft by force, which to a generous mind  
So reigning can be no sincere delight. 480  
Besides, to give a kingdom hath been thought  
Greater and nobler done, and to lay down  
Far more magnanimous, than to assume.  
Riches are needless then both for themselves,  
And for thy reason why they should be sought, 485  
To gair a sceptre, ofttest better missed.'



## BOOK III.

So spake the Son of God ; and Satan stood  
 A while as mute, confounded what to say,  
 What to reply, confuted, and convinced  
 Of his weak arguing, and fallacious drift ;  
 At length, collecting all his serpent wiles, 5  
 With soothing words renewed, him thus accosts :  
     ‘ I see thou know’st what is of use to know,  
 What best to say canst say, to do canst do :  
 Thy actions to thy words accord, thy words  
 To thy large heart give utterance due, thy heart 10  
 Contains of good, wise, just, the perfect shape.  
 Should kings and nations from thy mouth consult,  
 Thy counsel would be as the oracle 166140  
 Urim and Thummim, those oraculous gems  
 On Aaron’s breast, or tongue of seers old, 15  
 Infallible : or wert thou sought to deeds  
 That might require the array of war, thy skill  
 Of conduct would be such, that all the world  
 Could not sustain thy prowess, or subsist  
 In battle, though against thy few in arms. 20  
 These godlike virtues wherefore dost thou hide,  
 Affecting private life, or more obscure  
 In savage wildernes ? Wherefore deprive  
 All Earth her wonder at thy acts, thyself  
 The fame and glory, glory the reward 25  
 That sole excites to high attempts the flame  
 Of most erected spirits, most tempered pure  
 Ethereal, who all pleasures else despise,  
 All treasures and all gain esteem as dross,  
 And dignities and powers all but the highest ? 30

Thy years are ripe, and over-ripe ; the son  
Of Macedonian Philip had ere these  
Won Asia, and the throne of Cyrus held  
At his dispose ; young Scipio had brought down  
The Carthaginian pride ; young Pompey quelled 35  
The Pontic king and in triumph had rode.  
Yet years, and to ripe years judgment mature,  
Quench not the thirst of glory, but augment.  
Great Julius, whom now all the world admires,  
The more he grew in years the more inflamed 40  
With glory, wept that he had lived so long  
Inglorious : but thou yet art not too late.’  
To whom our Saviour calmly thus replied.  
‘ Thou neither dost persuade me to seek wealth  
For empire’s sake, nor empire to affect 45  
For glory’s sake, by all thy argument.  
For what is glory but the blaze of fame,  
The people’s praise, if always praise unmixed ?  
And what the people but a herd confused,  
A miscellaneous rabble, who extol 50  
Things vulgar, and well weighed scarce worth the praise ?  
They praise and they admire they know not what :  
And know not whom, but as one leads the other ;  
And what delight to be by such extolled,  
To live upon their tongues and be their talk, 55  
Of whom to be dispraised were no small praise—  
His lot who dares be singularly good ?  
The intelligent among them and the wise  
Are few, and glory scarce of few is raised.  
This is true glory and renown, when God 60  
Looking on the earth with approbation marks  
The just man, and divulges him through Heaven  
To all his angels, who with true applause  
Recount his praises : thus he did to Job,  
When to extend his fame through Heaven and Earth, 65

As thou to thy reproach may'st well remember,  
 He asked thee, 'Hast thou seen my servant Job?'  
 Famous he was in Heaven, on Earth less known;  
 Where glory is false glory, attributed  
 To things not glorious, men not worthy of fame. 70  
 They err who count it glorious to subdue  
 By conquest far and wide, to overrun  
 Large countries, and in field great battles win,  
 Great cities by assault: what do these worthies,  
 But rob and spoil, burn, slaughter, and enslave 75  
 Peaceable nations, neighbouring or remote,  
 Made captive, yet deserving freedom more  
 Than those their conquerors, who leave behind  
 Nothing but ruin wheresoe'er they rove,  
 And all the flourishing works of peace destroy; 80  
 Then swell with pride, and must be titled Gods,  
 Great Benefactors of mankind, Deliverers,  
 Worshipped with temple priest and sacrifice?  
 One is the son of Jove, of Mars the other:  
 Till conqueror Death discover them scarce men, 85  
 olling in brutish vices, and deformed;  
 Violent or shameful death their due reward.  
 But if there be in glory aught of good,  
 It may by means far different be attained,  
 Without ambition war or violence; 90  
 By deeds of peace, by wisdom eminent,  
 By patience, temperance: I mention still  
 Him whom thy wrongs with saintly patience borne,  
 Made famous in a land and times obscure:  
 Who names not now with honour patient Job? 95  
 Poor Socrates (who next more memorable?)  
 By what he taught and suffered for so doing,  
 For truth's sake suffering death unjust, lives now  
 Equal in fame to proudest conquerors.  
 Yet if for fame and glory aught be done, 100

Aught suffered,—if young African for fame  
His wasted country freed from Punic rage,  
The deed becomes unpraised, the man at least,  
And loses, though but verbal, his reward.  
Shall I seek glory then, as vain men seek 105  
Oft not deserved? I seek not mine, but his  
Who sent me; and thereby witness whence I am.'

To whom the tempter murmuring thus replied.  
'Think not so slight of glory, therein least  
Resembling thy great Father; he seeks glory, 110  
And for his glory all things made, all things  
Orders and governs; nor content in Heaven  
By all his angels glorified, requires  
Glory from men, from all men good or bad,  
Wise or unwise, no difference, no exemption; 115  
Above all sacrifice or hallowed gift  
Glory he requires, and glory he receives  
Promiscuous from all nations, Jew or Greek,  
Or barbarous, nor exception hath declared;  
From us his foes pronounced glory he exacts.' 120

To whom our Saviour fervently replied.  
'And reason, since his word all things produced;  
Though chiefly not for glory as prime end,  
But to show forth his goodness, and impart  
His good communicable to every soul 125  
Freely; of whom what could he less expect  
'Than glory and benediction, that is thanks,  
The slightest, easiest, readiest recompense  
From them who could return him nothing else,  
And not returning that would likeliest render 130  
Contempt instead, dishonour, obloquy?  
Hard recompense, unsuitable return  
For so much good, so much beneficence.  
But why should Man seek glory, who of his own  
Hath nothing, and to whom nothing belongs 135

But condemnation, ignominy and shame ?  
Who for so many benefits received  
Turned recreant to God, ingrate and false,  
And so of all true good himself despoiled ;  
Yet, sacrilegious, to himself would take 140  
That which to God alone of right belongs :  
Yet so much bounty is in God, such grace,  
That who advance his glory, not their own,  
Them he himself to glory will advance.  
So spake the Son of God ; and here again 145  
Satan had not to answer, but stood struck  
With guilt of his own sin ; for he himself  
Insatiable of glory had lost all :  
Yet of another plea bethought him soon.  
‘ Of glory as thou wilt,’ said he, ‘ so deem ; 150  
Worth or not worth the seeking, let it pass.  
But to a kingdom thou art born, ordained  
To sit upon thy father David’s throne,  
By mother’s side thy father ; though thy right  
Be now in powerful hands, that will not part 155  
Easily from possession won with arms :  
Judea now and all the Promised Land,  
Reduced a province under Roman yoke,  
Obeys Tiberius ; nor is always ruled  
With temperate sway ; oft have they violated 160  
The Temple, oft the Law with foul affronts,  
Abominations rather, as did once  
Antiochus : and think’st thou to regain  
Thy right by sitting still or thus retiring ?  
So did not Maccabæus : he indeed 165  
Retired into the desert, but with arms :  
And o’er a mighty king so oft prevailed,  
That by strong hand his family obtained,  
Though priests, the crown, and David’s throne usurped,  
With Modin and her suburbs once content. 170

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If kingdom move thee not, let move thee zeal  
And duty ; zeal and duty are not slow,  
But on occasion's forelock watchful wait :  
They themselves rather are occasion best ;  
Zeal of thy father's house, duty to free 175  
Thy country from her heathen servitude.  
So shalt thou best fulfil, best verify  
The prophets old, who sung thy endless reign :  
The happier reign the sooner it begins :  
Reign then ; what can'st thou better do the while ?' 180  
To whom our Saviour answer thus returned.  
' All things are best fulfilled in their due time ;  
And time there is for all things, Truth hath said :  
If of my reign prophetic writ hath told  
That it shall never end, so when begin 185  
The Father in his purpose hath decreed ;  
He in whose hand all times and seasons roll.  
What if he hath decreed that I shall first  
Be tried in humble state and things adverse,  
By tribulations, injuries, insults, 190  
Contempts and scorns and snares and violence,  
Suffering, abstaining, quietly expecting  
Without distrust or doubt, that he may know  
What I can suffer, how obey ? Who best  
Can suffer, best can do ; best reign, who first 195  
Well hath obeyed ; just trial ere I merit  
My exaltation without change or end.  
But what concerns it thee, when I begin  
My everlasting kingdom ? Why art thou  
Solicitous ? What moves thy inquisition ? 200  
Know'st thou not that my rising is thy fall,  
And my promotion will be thy destruction ?'  
To whom the tempter inly racked replied.  
' Let that come when it comes ; all hope is lost  
Of my reception into grace : what worse ? 205

For where no hope is left, is left no fear :  
If there be worse, the expectation more  
Of worse torments me than the feeling can.  
I would be at the worst : worst is my port,  
My harbour and my ultimate repose. 210  
The end I would attain, my final good.  
My error was my error, and my crime  
My crime, whatever ; for itself condemned ;  
And will alike be punished, whether thou  
Reign or reign not ; though to that gentle brow 215  
Willingly could I fly, and hope thy reign,  
From that placid aspect and meek regard,  
Rather than aggravate my evil state,  
Would stand between me and thy Father's ire,  
(Whose ire I dread more than the fire of Hell) 220  
A shelter and a kind of shading cool  
Interposition, as a summer's cloud.  
If I then to the worst that can be haste,  
Why move thy feet so slow to what is best,  
Happiest both to thyself and all the world, 225  
That thou who worthiest art should'st be their king?  
Perhaps thou linger'st in deep thoughts detained  
Of the enterprise so hazardous and high ;  
No wonder ; for though in thee be united  
What of perfection can in man be found, 230  
Or human nature can receive, consider,  
Thy life hath yet been private, most part spent  
At home, scarce viewed the Galilean towns,  
And once a year Jerusalem, few days' 234  
Short sojourn ; and what thence could'st thou observe ?  
The world thou hast not seen, much less her glory,  
Empires and monarchs and their radiant courts,  
Best school of best experience, quickest insight  
In all things that to greatest actions lead.  
The wisest, unexperienced, will be ever 240

Timorous and loath, with novice modesty,  
(As he who seeking asses found a kingdom,)  
Irresolute, unhardy, unadventurous :  
But I will bring thee where thou soon shall quit  
Those rudiments, and see before thine eyes                   245  
The monarchies of the Earth, their pomp and state ;  
Sufficient introduction to inform  
Thee, of thyself so apt, in regal arts  
And regal mysteries ; that thou may'st know  
How best their opposition to withstand.'                   250

With that (such power was given him then) he took  
The Son of God up to a mountain high.  
It was a mountain, at whose verdant feet  
A spacious plain outstretched in circuit wide  
Lay pleasant ; from his side two rivers flowed                   255  
The one winding, the other straight, and left between  
Fair champain with less rivers interveined,  
Then meeting joined their tribute to the sea ;  
Fertile of corn the glebe, of oil and wine ;                   259  
With herds the pastures thronged, with flocks the hills ;  
Huge cities and high towered, that well might seem  
The seats of mightiest monarchs ; and so large  
The prospect was, that here and there was room  
For barren desert, fountainless and dry.  
To this high mountain top the tempter brought                   265  
Our Saviour, and new train of words began.

' Well have we speeded, and o'er hill and dale,  
Forest and field and flood, temples and towers,  
Cut shorter many a league ; here thou behold'st  
Assyria and her empire's ancient bounds,                   270  
Araxes and the Caspian lake ; thence on  
As far as Indus east, Euphrates west,  
And oft beyond ; to south the Persian bay,  
And inaccessible the Arabian drouth :  
Here Nireveh, of length within her wall                   275



Several days' journey, built by Ninus old,  
 Of that first golden monarchy the seat,  
 And seat of Salmanassar, whose success  
 Israel in long captivity still mourns ;  
 There Babylon, the wonder of all tongues, 280  
 As ancient, but rebuilt by him who twice  
 Judah and all thy father David's house  
 Led captive, and Jerusalem laid waste,  
 Till Cyrus set them free ; Persepolis,  
 His city there thou seest, and Bactra there. 285  
 Ecbatana her structure vast there shows,  
 And Hecatompylos her hundred gates ;  
 There Susa by Choaspes, amber stream,  
 The drink of none but kings ; of later fame,  
 Built by Emathian or by Parthian hands, 290  
 The great Seleucia, Nisibis, and there  
 Artaxata, Teredon, Ctesiphon,  
 Turning with easy eye thou may'st behold.  
 All these the Parthian, now some ages past,  
 By great Arsaces led, who founded first 295  
 That empire, under his dominion holds,  
 From the luxurious kings of Antioch won.  
 And just in time thou com'st to have a view  
 Of his great power ; for now the Parthian king  
 In Ctesiphon hath gather'd all his host 300  
 Against the Scythian, whose incursions wild  
 Have wasted Sogdiana ; to her aid  
 He marches now in haste ; see, though from far,  
 His thousands, in what martial equipage  
 They issue forth, steel bows and shafts their arms, 305  
 Of equal dread in flight or in pursuit ;  
 All horsemen, in which fight they most excel ;  
 See how in warlike muster they appear,  
 In rhombs, and wedges, and half-moons, and wings.'  
 He looked, and saw what numbers numberless 310

The city gates outpoured, light-armed troops  
In coats of mail and military pride ;  
In mail their horses clad, yet fleet and strong,  
Prancing their riders bore, the flower and choice  
Of many provinces from bound to bound ; 315  
From Arachosia, from Candaor east,  
And Margiana to the Hyrcanian cliffs  
Of Caucasus, and dark Iberian dales ·  
From Atropatia and the neighbouring plains  
Of Adiabene, Media, and the south 320  
Of Susiana to Balsara's haven.  
He saw them in their forms of battle ranged,  
How quick they wheeled, and flying behind them shot  
Sharp sleet of arrowy showers against the face  
Of their pursuers, and overcame by flight ; 325  
The field all iron cast a gleaming brown.  
Nor wanted clouds of foot, nor on each horn  
Cuirassiers all in steel for standing fight,  
Chariots, or elephants endorsed with towers  
Of archers, nor of labouring pioneers 330  
A multitude with spades and axes armed,  
To lay hills plain, fell woods, or valleys fill,  
Or where plain was raise hill, or overlay  
With bridges rivers proud, as with a yoke ;  
Mules after these, camels and dromedaries, 335  
And waggons fraught with utensils of war.  
Such forces met not, nor so wide a camp,  
When Agrican with all his northern powers  
Besieg'd Albracca, as romances tell ;  
The city of Gallaphrone, from whence to win 340  
The fairest of her sex Angelica  
His daughter, sought by many prowest knights,  
Both Paynim, and the peers of Charlemane.  
Such and so numerous was their chivalry :

At sight whereof the fiend yet more presumed, 345  
And to our Saviour thus his words renewed.

‘ That thou may’st know I seek not to engage  
Thy virtue, and not every way secure  
On no slight grounds thy safety, hear and mark  
To what end I have brought thee hither and shew 350  
All this fair sight : thy kingdom though foretold  
By prophet or by angel, unless thou  
Endeavour, as thy father David did,  
Thou never shalt obtain ; prediction still  
In all things and all men supposes means ; 355  
Without means used, what it predicts revokes.  
But say thou wert possessed of David’s throne  
By free consent of all, none opposite,  
Samaritan or Jew ; how couldst thou hope  
Long to enjoy it quiet and secure, 360  
Between two such enclosing enemies,  
Roman and Parthian ? Therefore one of these  
Thou must make sure thy own ; the Parthian first  
By my advice, as nearer and of late  
Found able by invasion to annoy 365  
Thy country and captive lead away her kings,  
Antigonus and old Hyrcanus bound,  
Maugre the Roman : it shall be my task  
To render thee the Parthian at dispose,  
Choose which thou wilt, by conquest or by league: 370  
By him thou shalt regain, without him not,  
That which alone can truly re-install thee  
In David’s royal seat, his true successor,  
Deliverance of thy brethren, those ten tribes,  
Whose offspring in his territory yet serve 375  
In Habor, and among the Medes dispersed :  
Ten sons of Jacob, two of Joseph, lost  
Thus long from Israel, serving, as of old  
Their fathers in the land of Egypt served,

*Paradise Regained.* 41

This offer sets before thee to deliver. 380

These if from servitude thou shalt restore  
To their inheritance, then, nor till then,  
Thou on the throne of David in full glory,  
From Egypt to Euphrates and beyond  
Shalt reign, and Rome or Cæsar not need fear.' 385

To whom our Saviour answered thus unmoved,  
' Much ostentation vain of fleshly arm,  
And fragile arms, much instrument of war,  
Long in preparing, soon to nothing brought,  
Before mine eyes thou hast set ; and in my ear 390  
Vented much policy, and projects deep  
Of enemies, of aids, battles and leagues,  
Plausible to the world, to me worth naught.  
Means I must use, thou say'st, prediction else  
Will unpredict and fail me of the throne : 395

My time, I told thee, (and that time for thee  
Were better farthest off) is not yet come :  
When that comes think not thou to find me slack  
On my part aught endeavouring, or to need  
Thy politic maxims, or that cumbersome 400  
Luggage of war there shown me, argument

ii Of human weakness rather than of strength.  
My brethren, as thou call'st them, those ten tribes  
I must deliver, if I mean to reign  
David's true heir, and his full sceptre sway 405  
To just extent over all Israel's sons ;  
But whence to thee this zeal ? Where was it then  
For Israel, or for David, or his throne,  
When thou stood'st up his tempter to the pride  
Of numbering Israel, which cost the lives 410  
Of threescore and ten thousand Israelites  
By three days' pestilence ? such was thy zeal  
To Israel then, the same that now to me.  
As for those captive tribes, themselves were they

Who wrought their own captivity, fell off 415  
From God to worship calves, the deities  
Of Egypt, Baal next and Ashtaroth,  
And all the idolatries of heathen round,  
Besides their other worse than heathenish crimes ;  
Nor in the land of their captivity 420  
Humbled themselves, or penitent besought  
The God of their forefathers ; but so died  
Impenitent, and left a race behind  
Like to themselves, distinguishable scarce  
From Gentiles, but by circumcision vain, 425  
And God with idols in their worship joined.  
Should I of these the liberty regard,  
Who freed, as to their ancient patrimony,  
Unhumbled, unrepentant, unreformed,  
Headlong would follow ; and to their Gods perhaps, 430  
Of Bethel and of Dan ? No ; let them serve  
Their enemies, who serve idols with God.  
Yet he at length, time to himself best known,  
Remembering Abraham, by some wondrous call  
May bring them back repentant and sincere, 435  
And at their passing cleave the Assyrian flood,  
While to their native land with joy they haste ;  
As the Red Sea and Jordan once he cleft,  
When to the promis'd land their fathers passed .  
To his due time and providence I leave them.' 440  
So spake Israel's true King, and to the fiend  
Made answer meet, that made void all his wiles.  
So fares it when with truth falsehood contends.

## BOOK IV.

PERPLEXED and troubled at his bad success  
The tempter stood, nor had what to reply,  
Discovered in his fraud, thrown from his hope  
So oft, and the persuasive rhetoric  
That sleeked his tongue, and won so much on Eve, 5  
So little here, nay lost ; but Eve was Eve ;  
This far his over-match, who self-deceived  
And rash, before-hand had no better weighed  
The strength he was to cope with, or his own.  
But as a man who had been matchless held 10  
In cunning, over-reached where least he thought,  
To salve his credit and for very spite,  
Still will be tempting him who foils him still,  
And never cease, though to his shame the more ;  
Or as a swarm of flies in vintage time, 15  
About the wine-press where sweet must is poured,  
Beat off, returns as oft with humming sound ;  
Or surging waves against a solid rock,  
Though all to shivers dashed, the assault renew,  
Vain battery, and in froth or bubbles end ; 20  
So Satan, whom repulse upon repulse  
Met ever and to shameful silence brought,  
Yet gives not o'er, though desperate of success,  
And his vain importunity pursues.  
He brought our Saviour to the western side 25  
Of that high mountain, whence he might behold  
Another plain, long but in breadth not wide,  
Washed by the southern sea, and on the north  
To equal length backed with a ridge of hills,  
That screened the fruits of the earth and seats of men 30

From cold Septentrion blasts ; thence in the midst  
 Divided by a river, of whose banks  
 On each side an imperial city stood,  
 With towers and temples proudly elevate  
 On seven small hills, with palaces adorned, 35  
 Porches and theatres, baths, aqueducts,  
 Statues and trophies, and triumphal arcs,  
 Gardens and groves, presented to his eyes,  
 Above the highth of mountains interposed :  
 By what strange parallax or optic skill 40  
 Of vision, multiplied through air, or glass  
 Of telescope, were curious to inquire :  
 And now the tempter thus his silence broke.

‘ The city which thou sceest no other deem  
 Than great and glorious Rome, queen of the earth, 45  
 So far renowned, and with the spoils enriched  
 Of nations ; there the Capitol thou sceest,  
 Above the rest lifting his stately head  
 On the Tarpeian rock, her citadel  
 Impregnable ; and there mount Palatine 50  
 The imperial palace, compass huge, and high  
 The structure, skill of noblest architects,  
 With gilded battlements conspicuous far,  
 Turrets and terraces, and glittering spires :  
 Many a fair edifice besides, more like 55  
 Houses of gods, (so well I have disposed  
 My aery microscope) thou may’st behold  
 Outside and inside both, pillars and roofs,  
 Carved work, the hand of famed artificers  
 In cedar, marble, ivory, or gold. 60  
 Thence to the gates cast round thine eye, and see  
 What conflux issuing forth, or entering in ;  
 Prætors, pro-consuls to their provinces  
 Hasting or on return, in robes of state ;  
 Lictors and rods, the ensigns of their power, 65

Legions and cohorts, turms of horse and wings :  
Or embassies from regions far remote,  
In various habits, on the Appian road,  
Or on the Emilian ; some from farthest south,  
Syene, and where the shadow both way falls, 70  
Meroe, Nilotic isle ; and more to west  
The realm of Bocchus to the Black-moor sea ;  
From the Asian kings, and Parthian among these ;  
From India and the golden Chersonese,  
And utmost Indian isle Taprobane, 75  
Dusk faces with white silken turbants wreathed ;  
From Gallia, Gades, and the British west :  
Germans and Scythians, and Sarmatians north .  
Beyond Danubius to the Tauric pool.  
All nations now to Rome obedience pay, 80  
To Rome's great emperor, whose wide domain,  
In ample territory, wealth and power,  
Civility of manners, arts, and arms,  
And long renown, thou justly may'st prefer  
Before the Parthian. These two thrones except, 85  
The rest are barbarous, and scarce worth the sight,  
Shared among petty kings too far removed ;  
These having shown thee, I have shown thee all  
The kingdoms of the world, and all their glory.  
This emperor hath no son, and now is old, 90  
Old and lascivious, and from Rome retired  
To Capreae, an island small but strong,  
On the Campanian shore, with purpose there  
His horrid lusts in private to enjoy ;  
Committing to a wicked favourite 95  
All public cares, and yet of him suspicious,  
Hated of all and hating ; with what ease,  
Endued with regal virtues as thou art,  
Appearing and beginning noble deeds,  
Might'st thou expel this monster from his throne 100



Now made a sty, and in his place ascending,  
A victor people free from servile yoke !  
And with my help thou may'st ; to me the power  
Is given, and by that right I give it thee.  
Aim therefore at no less than all the world ; 105  
Aim at the highest : without the highest attained,  
Will be for thee no sitting, or not long  
On David's throne, be prophesied what will.  
To whom the Son of God unmoved replied.  
' Nor doth this grandeur and majestic show 110  
Of luxury, though called magnificence,  
More than of arms before, allure mine eye,  
Much less my mind ; though thou should'st add to tell  
Their sumptuous gluttonies, and gorgeous feasts  
On citron tables or Atlantic stone, 115  
(For I have also heard, perhaps have read)  
Their wines of Setia Cales and Falerne,  
Chios and Crete, and how they quaff in gold,  
Crystal, and myrrhine cups embossed with gems  
And studs of pearl : to me should'st tell, who thirst 120  
And hunger still : then embassies thou show'st  
From nations far and nigh : what honour that,  
But tedious waste of time to sit and hear  
So many hollow compliments and lies,  
Outlandish flatteries ? Then proceed'st to talk 125  
Of the emperor, how easily subdued,  
How gloriously : I shall, thou say'st, expel  
A brutish monster ; what if I withal  
Expel a devil who first made him such ?  
Let his tormentor conscience find him out ; 130  
For him I was not sent : nor yet to free  
That people victor once, now vile and base,  
Deservedly made vassal, who once just,  
Frugal and mild and temperate, conquered well,  
But govern ill the nations under yoke, 135

Peeling their provinces, exhausted all  
By lust and rapine ; first ambitious grown  
Of triumph, that insulting vanity ;  
Then cruel, by their sports to blood inured  
Of fighting beasts, and men to beasts exposed ; 140  
Luxurious by their wealth, and greedier still,  
And from the daily scene effeminate.

What wise and valiant man would seek to free  
These, thus degenerate, by themselves enslaved ?

! Or could of inward slaves make outward free ? 145

Know therefore, when my season comes to sit  
On David's throne, it shall be like a tree  
Spreading and overshadowing all the earth ;  
Or as a stone that shall to pieces dash  
All monarchies besides throughout the world ; 150  
And of my kingdom there shall be no end :  
Means there shall be to this ; but what the means  
Is not for thee to know, nor me to tell.'

To whom the tempter impudent replied.  
I see all offers made by me how slight 155  
Thou valu'st, because offered, and reject'st :  
Nothing will please the difficult and nice,  
Or nothing more than still to contradict :  
On the other side know also thou, that I  
On what I offer set as high esteem, 160  
Nor what I part with mean to give for naught ;  
All these which in a moment thou behold'st,  
The kingdoms of the world, to thee I give ;  
For given to me, I give to whom I please,  
No trifle ; yet with this reserve, not else, 165  
On this condition, if thou wilt fall down,  
And worship me as thy superior Lord,  
Easily done, and hold them all of me ;  
For what can less so great a gift deserve ?'

Whom thus our Saviour answered with disdain. 170

' I never liked thy talk, thy offers less ;  
 Now both abhor, since thou hast dared to utter  
 The abominable terms, impious condition :  
 But I endure the time, till which expired  
 Thou hast permission on me. It is written, 175  
 The first of all commandments, " Thou shalt worship  
 The Lord thy God, and only him shalt serve ;"  
 And dar'st thou to the Son of God propound  
 To worship thee accursed ? now more accursed  
 For this attempt, bolder than that on Eve, 180  
 And more blasphemous ; which expect to rue.  
 The kingdoms of the world to thee were given ?  
 Permitted rather, and by thee usurped,  
 Other donation none thou canst produce.  
 If given, by whom but by the King of kings, 185  
 God over all supreme ? if given to thee,  
 By thee how fairly is the Giver now  
 Repaid ! But gratitude in thee is lost  
 Long since. Wert thou so void of fear or shame,  
 As offer them to me the Son of God ? 190  
 To me my own, on such abhorred pact,  
 That I fall down and worship thee as God ?  
 Get thee behind me ; plain thou now appear'st  
 That evil one, Satan for ever damned.'

To whom the fiend with fear abashed replied. 195  
 ' Be not so sore offended, Son of God,  
 (Though sons of God both angels are and men)  
 If I to try whether in higher sort  
 Than these thou bear'st that title, have proposed  
 What both from men and angels I receive, 200  
 Tetrarchs of fire, air, flood, and on the earth,  
 Nations beside from all the quartered winds,  
 God of this world invoked, and world beneath ;  
 Who then thou art, whose coming is foretold  
 To me most fatal, me it most concerns ; 205

The trial hath indamaged thee no way,  
Rather more honour left and more esteem ;  
Me nought advantaged, missing what I aimed.  
Therefore let pass, as they are transitory,  
The kingdoms of this world ; I shall no more 210  
Advise thee ; gain them as thou canst, or not.  
And thou thyself seem'st otherwise inclined  
Than to a worldly crown ; addicted more  
To contemplation and profound dispute,  
As by that early action may be judged, 215  
When slipping from thy mother's eye, thou went'st  
Alone into the temple, there wast found  
Among the gravest Rabbies, disputant  
On points and questions fitting Moses' chair, 219  
Teaching, not taught. The childhood shews the man,  
As morning shews the day : be famous then  
By wisdom ; as thy empire must extend,  
So let extend thy mind o'er all the world  
In knowledge, all things in it comprehend.  
| All knowledge is not couched in Moses' law, 225  
The Pentateuch, or what the Prophets wrote ;  
The Gentiles also know, and write, and teach  
To admiration, led by Nature's light ;  
And with the Gentiles much thou must converse,  
Ruling them by persuasion, as thou mean'st ; 230  
Without their learning how wilt thou with them,  
Or they with thee hold conversation meet ?  
How wilt thou reason with them, how refute  
Their idolisms, traditions, paradoxes ?  
Error by his own arms is best evinced. 235  
Look once more ere we leave this specular mount,  
Westward, much nearer by southwest, behold,  
Where on the Ægean shore a city stands  
Built nobly, pure the air and light the soil ;  
| Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of arts 240

And eloquence, native to famous wits  
 Or hospitable, in her sweet recess,  
 City or suburban, studious walks and shades.  
 { See there the olive grove of Academe,  
 { Plato's retirement, where the Attic bird                    245  
 { Trills her thick-warbled notes the summer long ;  
 There flowery hill Hymettus with the sound  
 { Of bees' industrious murmur oft invites  
 { To studious musing ; there Ilissus rolls  
 His whispering stream : within the walls then view 250  
 The schools of ancient sages ; his who bred  
 Great Alexander to subdue the world,  
 Lyceum there, and painted Stoa next :  
 There shalt thou hear and learn the secret power  
 Of harmony, in tones and numbers hit                    255  
 By voice or hand, and various-measured verse,  
 Æolian charms and Dorian lyric odes ;  
 And his, who gave them breath but higher sung,  
 Blind Melesigenes, thence Homer called,  
 Whose poem Phœbus challenged for his own.                    260  
 Thence what the lofty grave tragedians taught  
 In chorus or iambic, teachers best  
 Of moral prudence, with delight received  
 In brief sententious precepts, while they treat  
 Of fate and chance and change in human life,                    265  
 High actions and high passions best describing :  
 Thence to the famous orators repair,  
 Those ancient, whose resistless eloquence  
 Wielded at will that fierce democracy,  
 Shook the arsenal, and fulminated over Greece                    270  
 'To Macedon and Artaxerxes' throne :  
 To sage Philosophy next lend thine ear,  
 From heaven descended to the low-roofed house  
 Of Socrates ; see there his tenement,  
 Whom well inspired the oracle pronounced                    275

Wisest of men ; from whose mouth issued forth  
Mellifluous streams, that watered all the schools  
Of Academics old and new, with those  
Surnamed Peripatetics, and the sect  
Epicurean and the Stoic severe ; 280

These here revolve, or as thou lik'st at home,  
Till time mature thee to a kingdom's weight :  
These rules will render thee a king complete  
Within thyself, much more with empire joined.'

To whom our Saviour sagely thus replied. 285

'Think not but that I know these things, or think  
I know them not ; not therefore am I short  
Of knowing what I ought : he who receives  
Light from above, from the fountain of light,  
No other doctrine needs, though granted true ; 290

But these are false, or little else but dreams,  
Conjectures, fancies, built on nothing firm.

The first and wisest of them all professed  
To know this only, that he nothing knew ;  
The next to fabling fell and smooth conceits ; 295

A third sort doubted all things, though plain sense ;  
Others in virtue placed felicity,

But virtue joined with riches and long life ;  
In corporal pleasure he, and careless ease.

The Stoic last in philosophic pride, 300

By him called virtue ; and his virtuous man,  
Wise, perfect in himself, and all possessing  
Equal to God, oft shames not to prefer,

As fearing God nor man, contemning all  
Wealth, pleasure, pain or torment, death and life, 305  
Which when he lists he leaves, or boasts he can ;

For all his tedious talk is but vain boast,  
Or subtle shifts conviction to evade.

Alas, what can they teach, and not mislead !  
Ignorant of themselves, of God much more, 310

And how the world began, and how Man fell  
 Degraded by himself, on grace depending ?  
 / Much of the soul they talk, but all awry,  
 And in themselves seek virtue, and to themselves  
 | All glory arrogate, to God give none ; 315  
 Rather accuse him under usual names,  
 Fortune and Fate, as one regardless quite  
 Of mortal things. Who therefore seeks in these  
 True wisdom finds her not ; or by delusion  
 Far worse her false resemblance only meets, 320  
 An empty cloud. However, many books,  
 Wise men have said, are wearisome ; who reads  
 Incessantly, and to his reading brings not  
 A spirit and judgment equal or superior, 324  
 (And what he brings what needs he elsewhere seek ?)  
 Uncertain and unsettled still remains,  
 | Deep versed in books and shallow in himself,  
 Crude or intoxicate, collecting toys  
 And trifles for choice matters, worth a sponge ;  
 As children gathering pebbles on the shore 330  
 Or if I would delight my private hours  
 With music or with poem, where so soon  
 As in our native language can I find  
 That solace ? All our law and story strewed 334  
 With hymns, our psalms with artful terms inscribed,  
 Our Hebrew songs and harps, in Babylon  
 That pleased so well our victors' ear, declare  
 That rather Greece from us these arts derived,  
 Ill imitated, while they loudest sing  
 The vices of their deities, and their own, 340  
 In fable hymn or song, so personating  
 Their gods ridiculous and themselves past shame.  
 Remove their swelling epithets thick laid  
 As varnish on a harlot's cheek, the rest,  
 Thin sown with aught of profit or delight, 345

Will far be found unworthy to compare  
With Sion's songs, to all true tastes excelling,  
Where God is praised aright, and godlike men,  
The Holiest of Holies, and his saints  
(Such are from God inspired, not such from thee); 350

Unless where moral virtue is expressed  
By light of Nature not in all quite lost.  
Their orators thou then extoll'st, as those  
The top of eloquence, statists indeed,  
And lovers of their country, as may seem ; 355

But herein to our prophets far beneath,  
As men divinely taught, and better teaching  
The solid rules of civil government  
In their majestic unaffected style,

Than all the oratory of Greece and Rome. 360

In them is plainest taught and easiest learnt,  
What makes a nation happy and keeps it so,  
What ruins kingdoms and lays cities flat ;  
'These only with our Law best form a king.'

So spake the Son of God ; but Satan, now 365  
Quite at a loss, for all his darts were spent,  
Thus to our Saviour with stern brow replied.

' Since neither wealth nor honour, arms nor arts,  
Kingdom nor empire pleases thee, nor aught  
By me proposed in life contemplative 370

Or active, tended on by glory or fame,  
What dost thou in this world ? The wilderness  
For thee is fittest place ; I found thee there,  
And thither will return thee ; yet remember  
What I foretell thee, soon thou shalt have cause 375  
To wish thou never hadst rejected thus

Nicely or cautiously my offered aid,  
Which would have set thee in short time with ease  
On David's throne, or throne of all the world,  
Now at full age, fulness of time, thy season, 380



When prophecies of thee are best fulfilled.  
 Now contrary, if I read aught in Heaven,  
 Or Heaven write aught of Fate, by what the stars  
 Voluminous, or single characters,  
 In their conjunction met, give me to spell, 385  
 Sorrows and labours, opposition, hate  
 Attends thee, scorns, reproaches, injuries,  
 Violence and stripes, and lastly cruel death.  
 A kingdom they portend thee, but what kingdom,  
 Real or allegoric, I discern not, 390  
 Nor when ; eternal sure, as without end,  
 Without beginning ; for no date prefixed  
 Directs me in the starry rubric set.  
 So saying he took (for still he knew his power  
 Not yet expired) and to the wilderness 395  
 Brought back the Son of God, and left him there,  
 Feigning to disappear. Darkness now rose,  
 As day-light sunk, and brought in lowering Night,  
 Her shadowy offspring ; unsubstantial both,  
 Privation mere of light and absent day. 400  
 Our Saviour meek, and with untroubled mind  
 After his æry jaunt, though hurried sore,  
 Hungry and cold betook him to his rest,  
 Wherever under some concourse of shades, 404  
 Whose branching arms thick intertwined might shield  
 From dews and damps of night his sheltered head ;  
 But sheltered slept in vain : for at his head  
 The tempter watched, and soon with ugly dreams  
 Disturbed his sleep ; and either tropic now  
 Can thunder, and both ends of heaven the clouds 410  
 From many a horrid rift abortive poured  
 Fierce rain with lightning mixed, water with fire  
 In ruin reconciled : nor slept the winds  
 Within their stony caves, but rushed abroad  
 From the four hinges of the world, and fell 415

On the vexed wilderness, whose tallest pines,  
Though rooted deep as high, and sturdiest oaks  
Bowed their stiff necks, loaden with stormy blasts  
Or torn up sheer. Ill wast thou shrouded then,  
O patient Son of God, yet only stood'st 420  
Unshaken ; nor yet staid the terror there :  
Infernal ghosts and hellish furies round  
Environed thee, some howled, some yelled, some shrieked,  
Some bent at thee their fiery darts, while thou  
Sat'st unappalled in calm and sinless peace. 425  
Thus pass'd the night so foul, till morning fair  
Came forth with pilgrim steps in amice gray ;  
Who with her radiant finger stilled the roar  
Of thunder, chased the clouds, and laid the winds,  
And grisly spectres, which the fiend had raised 430  
To tempt the Son of God with terrors dire.  
But now the sun with more effectual beams  
Had cheered the face of earth, and dried the wet  
From drooping plant or dropping tree ; the birds,  
Who all things now beheld more fresh and green, 435  
After a night of storm so ruinous,  
Cleared up their choicest notes in bush and spray,  
To gratulate the sweet return of morn.  
Nor yet amidst this joy and brightest morn  
Was absent, after all his mischief done, 440  
The Prince of darkness ; glad would also seem  
Of this fair change, and to our Saviour came ;  
Yet with no new device, they all were spent :  
Rather by this his last affront resolved,  
Desperate of better course, to vent his rage 445  
And mad despite to be so oft repell'd.  
Him walking on a sunny hill he found,  
Backed on the north and west by a thick wood ;  
Out of the wood he starts in wonted shape ;  
And in a careless mood thus to him said. 450

' Fair morning yet betides thee, Son of God,  
 After a dismal night : I heard the wrack  
 As earth and sky would mingle ; but myself  
 Was distant ; and these flaws, though mortals fear them  
 As dangerous to the pillared frame of heaven, 455  
 Or to the earth's dark basis underneath,  
 Are to the main as inconsiderable,  
 And harmless, if not wholesome, as a sneeze  
 To man's less universe, and soon are gone ;  
 Yet, as being oft-times noxious where they light 460  
 On man, beast, plant, wasteful and turbulent,  
 Like turbulences in the affairs of men,  
 Over whose heads they roar, and seem to point,  
 They oft foreshignify and threaten ill :  
 This tempest at this desert most was bent ; 465  
 Of men at thee, for only thou here dwell'st.  
 Did I not tell thee, if thou didst reject  
 The perfect season offered with my aid  
 To win thy destined seat, but wilt prolong  
 All to the push of Fate ? Pursue thy way 470  
 Of gaining David's throne no man knows when,  
 For both the when and how is no where told ;  
 Thou shalt be what thou art ordained, no doubt,  
 For angels have proclaimed it, but concealing  
 The time and means : [each act is rightliest done, 475  
 Not when it must, but when it may be best.]  
 If thou observe not this, be sure to find,  
 What I foretold thee, many a hard assay  
 Of dangers, and adversities, and pains,  
 Ere thou of Israel's sceptre get fast hold ; 480  
 Whereof this ominous night that closed thee round,  
 So many terrors, voices, prodigies  
 May warn thee, as a sure foregoing sign.'  
 So talked he, while the Son of God went on  
 And staid not, but in brief him answered thus. 485

Me worse than wet thou find'st not ; other harm  
Those terrors which thou speak'st of did me none ;  
I never feared they could, though noising loud  
And threatening nigh : what they can do as signs  
Betokening or ill boding, I condemn 490  
As false portents not sent from God, but thee ;  
Who knowing I shall reign past thy preventing,  
Obtrud'st thy offered aid, that I accepting  
At least might seem to hold all power of thee, 494  
Ambitious spirit, and wouldst be thought my God ;  
And storm'st refused, thinking to terrify  
Me to thy will ; desist, thou art discerned,  
And toil'st in vain, nor me in vain molest.'

To whom the fiend now sworn with rage replied :  
' Then hear, O Son of David, virgin-born ; 500  
For Son of God to me is yet in doubt ;  
Of the Messiah I have heard foretold  
By all the prophets ; of thy birth at length,  
Announced by Gabriel with the first I knew,  
And of the angelic song in Bethlehem field, 505  
On thy birth-night, that sung thee Saviour born.  
From that time seldom have I ceased to eye  
Thy infancy, thy childhood, and thy youth,  
Thy manhood last, though yet in private bred ;  
Till at the ford of Jordan, whither all 510  
Flocked to the Baptist, I among the rest,  
Though not to be baptised, by voice from Heaven  
Heard thee pronounced the Son of God beloved.  
Thenceforth I thought thee worth my nearer view  
And narrower scrutiny, that I might learn 515  
In what degree or meaning thou art called  
The Son of God ; which bears no single sense.  
The Son of God I also am or was ;  
And if I was, I am ; relation stands ;  
All men are sons of God ; yet thee I thought 520

In some respect far higher so declared.  
 Therefore I watched thy footsteps from that hour,  
 And followed thee still on to this waste wild ;  
 Where by all best conjectures I collect  
 Thou art to be my fatal enemy. 525  
 Good reason then, if I beforehand seek  
 To understand my adversary, who  
 And what he is ; his wisdom, power, intent ;  
 By parle or composition, truce or league  
 To win him, or win from him what I can. 530  
 And opportunity I here have had  
 To try thee, sift thee, and confess have found thee  
 Proof against all temptation as a rock  
 Of adamant, and as a centre firm ;  
 To the utmost of mere man both wise and good, 535  
 Not more ; for honours, riches, kingdoms, glory,  
 Have been before contemned, and may again :  
 Therefore to know what more thou art than man,  
 Worth naming Son of God by voice from Heaven,  
 \ Another method I must now begin.' 540

So saying he caught him up, and without wing  
 Of hippogrif bore through the air sublime,  
 Over the wilderness and o'er the plain ;  
 Till underneath them fair Jerusalem,  
 The holy city, lifted high her towers, 545  
 And higher yet the glorious temple reared  
 Her pile, far off appearing like a mount  
 Of alabaster, topt with golden spires :  
 There on the highest pinnacle he set  
 The Son of God ; and added thus in scorn. 550

' There stand, if thou wilt stand ; to stand upright  
 Will ask thee skill ; I to thy Father's house  
 Have brought thee, and highest placed : highest is best :  
 Now show thy progeny ; if not to stand,  
 Cast thyself down ; safely if Son of God : 555

For it is written, "He will give command  
Concerning thee to his angels, in their hands  
They shall uplift thee, lest at any time  
Thou chance to dash thy foot against a stone."

To whom thus Jesus : ' Also it is written 560  
"Tempt not the Lord thy God." ' He said, and stood.

But Satan, smitten with amazement, fell.  
As when Earth's son, Antæus (to compare  
Small things with greatest) in Itrassa strove  
With Jove's Alcides, and oft foiled still rose, 565  
Receiving from his mother Earth new strength,  
Fresh from his fall, and fiercer grapple joined,  
Throttled at length in the air, expired and fell ;  
So after many a foil the tempter proud,  
Renewing fresh assaults, amidst his pride, 570  
Fell whence he stood to see his victor fall.

And as that Theban monster, that proposed  
Her riddle, and him who solved it not devoured,  
That once found out and solved, for grief and spite  
Cast herself headlong from the Ismenian steep ; 575  
So struck with dread and anguish fell the fiend,  
And to his crew, that sat consulting, brought  
Joyless triumphals of his hoped success,  
Ruin and desperation and dismay,

Who durst so proudly tempt the Son of God. 580  
So Satan fell : and straight a fiery globe  
Of angels on full sail of wing flew nigh,

Who on their plummy vans received him soft  
From his uneasy station, and upbore,  
As on a floating couch through the blithe air ; 585  
Then in a flowery valley set him down

On a green bank, and set before him spread  
A table of celestial food, divine,  
Ambrosial, fruits fetched from the tree of life,  
And from the fount of life ambrosial drink, 590

That soon refreshed him wearied, and repaired  
 What hunger, if aught hunger had impaired,  
 Or thirst ; and as he fed, angelic quires  
 Sung heavenly anthems of his victory  
 Over temptation, and the tempter proud. 595

‘ True Image of the Father, whether throned  
 In the bosom of bliss, and light of light  
 Conceiving, or remote from Heaven, enshrined  
 In fleshly tabernacle and human form,  
 Wandering the wilderness ; whatever place, 600

Habit or state or motion, still expressing  
 The Son of God, with godlike force endued  
 Against the attempter of thy Father’s throne,  
 And thief of Paradise ! him long of old  
 Thou didst debel, and down from Heaven cast 605

With all his army ; now thou hast avenged  
 Supplanted Adam, and by vanquishing  
 Temptation, hast regained lost Paradise,  
 And frustrated the conquest fraudulent.  
 He never more henceforth will dare set foot 610

In Paradise to tempt ; his snares are broke ;  
 For though that seat of earthly bliss be failed,  
 A fairer Paradise is founded now  
 For Adam and his chosen sons, whom thou,  
 A Saviour, art come down to reinstall, 615

Where they shall dwell secure, when time shall be,  
 Of tempter and temptation without fear.  
 But thou, infernal Serpent, shalt not long  
 Rule in the clouds ; like an autumnal star  
 Or lightning thou shalt fall from Heaven, trod down 620

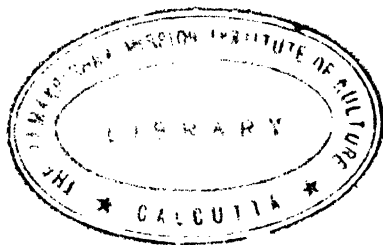
Under his feet : for proof, ere this thou feel’st  
 Thy wound, (yet not thy last and deadliest wound  
 By this repulse received,) and hold’st in Hell  
 No triumph ; in all her gates Abaddon rues  
 Thy bold attempt ; hereafter learn with awe 625

To dread the Son of God ; he all unarmed  
Shall chase thee with the terror of his voice  
From thy demoniac holds, possession foul,  
Thee and thy legions ; yelling they shall fly,  
And beg to hide them in a herd of swine,  
Lest he command them down into the deep,  
Bound, and to torment sent before their time.  
Hail Son of the Most High, heir of both worlds,  
Queller of Satan, on thy glorious work  
Now enter, and begin to save mankind.'

630

635

Thus they the Son of God our Saviour meek  
Sung victor, and from heavenly feast refreshed  
Brought on his way with joy ; he unobserved  
Home to his mother's house private returned.







# NOTES.

## BOOK I.

L. 1-17. '*I, who once sang Man's fall, now sing his restoration to lost Paradise. Holy Spirit, as thou art wont, inspire my tongue!*'

L. 1. **I who erewhile, &c.** 'This form of introduction is plainly borrowed from the lines prefixed to the *Æneid*, 'Ille ego qui quondam gracili modulatus avena,' &c.' Cf. also Ovid, *Trist.* iv. 10. 1, 'Ille ego qui fuerim tenerorum lusor amorum,' in allusion to his early poems, the *Amores*. Spenser had adopted the same formula in the opening lines of his *Faery Queen* :—

'Lo I the man, whose Muse whilom did mask,  
As time her taught, in lowly shepherd's weeds,  
Am now enforced a far unfitter task,  
For trumpets stern to change mine oaten reeds.'

**Erewhile.** See Glossary.

L. 2. See Romans, v. 19; *P. L.* i. 1. Cf. Giles Fletcher's *Christ's Triumph over Death*, l. 113 :—

'A man was the first author of our fall;  
A man is now the author of our rise.'

L. 3. **Recovered Paradise**—'the recovery of Paradise.' Cf. iv. 608. This is one of Milton's numerous Latinisms, imitated from such phrases as *ab urbe condita*, 'from the building of the city.' Cf. *P. L.* i. 583, 'since created man'; *Comus*, 48, 'the Tuscan mariners transformed'; also l. 104, where see note.

L. 6. The *Paradise Regained* shows the fulfilment of the prophecy with which the *Paradise Lost* had ended; that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head. For the question how far Milton was justified in confining this result to the scene of the Temptation, see Introduction, p. xi.

L. 7. Isaiah, li. 3: 'He will comfort all her *waste* places, and he will make her *wilderness like Eden*,' &c. 'Waste' like the Lat. *vastus* = 'desolate'; cf. Livy, xxiv. 3, 'vasta ac deserta urbs.' 'Waste wild' occurs in iv. 523, and 'wasteful wilderness' in the paraphrase of Psalm cxxxvi. written by Milton at the age of fifteen.

L. 8. **Spirit**, in one syllable, as in ll. 31, 282, 358, and commonly in Milton and Shakspeare. (See iii. 125, n.) In l. 189 'spirit' is a dissyllable. See the old version of the Psalms *passim*, e.g. Psalm li. 11, 'Ne cast me from thy sight, nor take thy holy *sprite* away.' The reference is to Matt. iv. 1. Compare the invocations in *P. L.* i. 1-26, vii. 1-39. In the latter Milton calls his muse *Urania*, i.e. *Ὀυρανία* or 'the heavenly,' and identifies her with the Holy Spirit.

**Eremit**, *P. L.* iii. 474, from *ἐρημος*, 'desert,' whence *ἐρημίτης*, *eremite*, contracted in French to *hermite*, English *hermit*. Also spelt *heremite*, as in *Piers Plowman*, Prol. 3, 'in habit as an *heremite*.'

L. 11. **By proof**, i.e. 'by the test of experience,' but with a special allusion to the old 'trial by combat'; see l. 130, n., and cf. *Hamlet*, iv. 7, 'passages of proof,' i.e. the transactions of daily experience. In what sense Milton understood the term 'Son of God' will presently be shewn. See l. 91, n., and iv. 517.

L. 12. Milton certainly believed himself to be under the direct influence of inspiration. In *P. L.* ix. 21, he speaks of the Muse (i.e. the Holy Spirit, see on l. 8) as his 'celestial patroness' who

'dictates to me slumbering, or inspires  
Easy my unpremeditated verse.'

In Newton's Life of Milton it is related of his third wife, that being asked who was the Muse that inspired him, she replied 'it was God's grace and the Holy Spirit that visited him nightly.' Cf. iv. 288. Hence he adds 'else mute,' i.e. 'which would otherwise be mute.'  
**Prompted**, i.e. 'by thee' (K.)

L. 13. **Highth**, the proper spelling, being the *adj.* 'high' with the noun suffix *-th*, as in *length*, *breadth*, &c. Milton has 'height' only in *Arcades*, 75, and 'hight' in *P. L.* ix. 167. Cf. l. 325 and note.

L. 14. **Full summed**. Cf. *P. L.* vii. 421, 'they *summed* their pens.' It is a term in falconry, used of a hawk when all his feathers are grown, 'cui nihil de *summa* pennarum deest' (N.) Todd quotes from Drayton's *Polyolbion*, 11th Song, 'The muse

from Cambria comes with pinions *summed* and sound.' [Other terms borrowed from the fashionable sport of hawking are 'prune,' as in *Cymbeline*, v. 4: 'His royal bird *prunes* the immortal wing.' Cf. Scott's *Monastery*, '*prune* thy feathers and *prink* thyself gay'; Keats' *Eve of St. Agnes*, 333, 'A dove forlorn and lost with sick *unpruned* wing.' In the *Arcopagitica*, Milton compares a nation to 'an eagle *muving* her mighty youth,' i.e. renewing it as a hawk does its feathers by *moulling*. See Quarles' *Emblems*, iii. 1, 'Like as the *hagard*, cloistered in her *mew*,' &c.; Hall, *Satires*, iv. 1, 'sits simpering in her *mew*.']

L. 15. **Above heroic.** So in *P. L.* i. 15, the poet expresses his intention of soaring 'above the Aonian mount.' In ix. 14, &c. he claims for his subject a character 'not less but more *heroic* than the wrath of stern Achilles.' He laments that warlike exploits should have been 'hitherto the only argument *heroic* deemed,' while 'the better fortitude of patience and heroic martyrdom' had been left 'unsung.'

L. 16. **Unrecorded**, i.e. not related by the Evangelists in detail. It is quite possible that Milton may have believed himself directly inspired to narrate the added circumstances in this poem (K.) See L. 12, n. In his preface to the *Christian Doctrine* he even adopts the style of an apostolical epistle:—JOHN MILTON, TO ALL THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST . . . PEACE AND THE RECOGNITION OF THE TRUTH AND ETERNAL SALVATION, IN GOD THE FATHER AND IN OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.

Ll. 18-32. *John baptises in Jordan. Jesus, coming with the rest to his baptism, is declared by a heavenly voice to be the Son of God.*

Ll. 18, 19. Isaiah lviii. 1. **Proclaimer** represents the secondary sense of *προφήτης*, originally one who 'speaks *for*,' i.e. 'interprets the will of' a god. Cf. *Æsch. Eumen.* 19, Διὸς *προφήτης* δ' ἐστὶ Δοξίας πατρός. Hence in the New Test. *προφητεύειν* is 'to preach,' and nearly = *κηρύσσειν* (from *κήρυξ* 'a herald'). Cf. l. 70.

L. 20. Matt. iii. 2.

L. 21. **To all baptised**, after 'nigh at hand,' not after 'cried.' Those who received John's baptism were prepared thereby to receive the 'kingdom of heaven.'

L. 23. **The son of Joseph deemed.** Luke iii. 23. The

form of expression is Greek, ὁ υἱὸς νομιζόμενος. Cf. Xen. *Anab.* ii. 4, τὸ Μηδίας καλούμενον τεῖχος.

L. 24. **Came**, repeated for emphasis. In Tonson's editions the clause is wrongly pointed—'To the flood Jordan came, as then obscure.' **As then** = 'then'; cf. the German *als dann* for *dann* (*K.*) The precise meaning seems to be 'as far as that particular time is concerned,' i.e. 'for the time being.' Cf. *P. L.* x. 175, 'judged *as then* best.' (Abbott, *Sh. Gram.* § 114.) So 'as now,' 'as by,' 'as in,' &c. in Chaucer.

L. 26. **Divinely** = 'from heaven,' Lat. *divinitus*. Cf. *P. L.* viii. 500, 'though *divinely* brought.' Tennyson, *Elaine*, 61, 'these jewels, whereupon I chanced *divinely*.' There is no hint in the Gospels of any 'divine warning' having been given to John the Baptist before our Lord's baptism; his words 'I knew him not,' &c. (John i. 33) do in fact assert the contrary. Cf. l. 270. The apparent discrepancy between that passage and Matt. iii. 14 is generally explained by supposing that John's previous acquaintance with Jesus led him to acknowledge his own inferiority, though he 'knew him not' as the Son of God, till the Holy Ghost had descended upon him. (See Alford on Matt. iii. 14, and John i. 33.)

L. 27. **His worthier**. Cf. l. 297, 'his greater;' *P. L.* v. 172, 'thy greater.' The poss. pron. = a genitive case, which expresses *relation*, as of superiority or inferiority. Hence in Greek comparatives take the genitive, as μέζων ἐμοῦ, &c. We still say 'my superior' and 'my inferior.'

Ll. 33-105. *Satan, being present and hearing this announcement, summons his infernal council, and tells them that they are in danger of losing the empire they had won, for that the Woman's Seed is born that was destined to destroy it; that he had lately been attested the Son of God at his baptism. Hence the peril was imminent, and demanded instant action; himself, who had succeeded so well on the former enterprise, will now adventure a second.*

L. 33. Job i. 7; 1 Peter v. 8. 'Adversary' is the literal meaning of *Satan*. Cf. *P. L.* i. 81, 'the Arch-enemy, and thence in heaven called *Satan*.'

L. 34. **That assembly**. See l. 21.

J. 37. **Attest** = 'attestation,' as in *Troilus and Cressida*, v. 2, 'th' *attest* of eyes and ears.' Cf. 'amaze,' ii 38, 'acquist' *S. A.* 1755. The Elizabethan writers constantly used verbs as nouns with

out the substantival suffix. Shakspeare abounds in instances of this license, e.g. 'the manage of two kingdoms,' *King John*, i. 1; 'big compare,' *Troilus*, iii. 2; 'sweet retire,' *Henry V.* iv. 3; 'the disclose,' *Hamlet*, iii. 1; &c., &c.

**A while.** See *erewhile* in Glossary.

L. 39. **Place** = 'habitation.' Cf. Gen. xviii. 33; Job vii. 10. **In mid air.** Cf. l. 44, n. In Ephesians ii. 2 Satan is called 'the prince of the power of the air.' (See Introduction, p. xviii.)

L. 40. **Peers**, lit. 'equals' from *pares*. Hence the term was applied to 'nobles' by way of distinction from those of lower rank, who were their 'inferiors'; just as the Spartan nobles were called *ἰσῆοι*. In this original sense it occurs only in *P. L.* i. 39, v. 812; *Lycidas*, 9, 'hath not left his *peer*.' In the derived modern sense Milton often uses it of the rebel angels in the *P. L.* e.g. 'grand infernal *peers*,' *P. L.* ii. 507; 'great consulting *peers*,' x. 456, &c. (See note on *Lycidas*, l. 9.)

L. 41. Thyer quotes St. Augustine — 'ad ista caliginosa, id est ad hunc *aerem* (l. 39), tanquam ad carcerem, damnatus est diabolus.'

L. 42. **Consistory.** Cf. Virg. *Æn.* iii. 677, 'concilium horrendum,' borrowed by P. Fletcher in his Latin poem *Locustæ*, when he describes the infernal assembly. 'Consistory' is properly the *place* of meeting (*consistorium*), and since the council-chamber of the Pope and Cardinals was so named (Shaksp. *Henry VIII.* ii. 4), it has been thought that Milton designedly applies the term to an assembly of devils. But this is at most a *probable* conjecture. In *P. L.* x. 456 the infernal council is called a 'dark *divan*.'

L. 43. **Agast.** This is the proper spelling. See Glossary.

**Bespake**, intransitive, as in *Lycidas*, 112, *Nativity Hymn*, 76. The prefix *be-* = *by*, i.e. 'near' or 'to' (Greek *πρός*). Generally the object of the verb is added, as in *P. L.* ii. 849; iv. 1005. The modern meaning is 'to speak *for*,' i.e. 'secure beforehand'; also 'to declare *to be*,' as in Cowper, *Task*, ii. 702, 'His head . . . *bespoke* him past the bounds of freakish youth.' Sometimes *bespeak* = 'speak against,' i.e. 'wish ill to,' as in Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* vi. 13, 'so far from *bespeaking* such lands with any ill success,' &c.

L. 44. There is no debate here, as in *P. L.* Bk. ii., for the occasion is urgent. Satan merely communicates the facts to the council, and proposes a general plan of action for their approval. In Bk. ii. of this poem a debate is necessary, because Satan had ill succeeded in his first venture, and required advice for the future.

**Powers of air.** Upon Eph ii. 2 (quoted on l. 39), and the belief of the early Church, Milton finds his conception of the *air* as the realm of Satan, won by him and his angels after they were cast into hell. Hence in *P. L.* x. 188, the air is called 'the realm itself of Satan long usurped.'

L. 48. **As the years of men**, i.e. 'are reckoned.'

L. 50. **In manner**, 'in some sort,' 'after a fashion.' This qualifies the assertion 'at our will,' and implies that the dominion of Satan was not universal, since some men could resist his power.

L. 53. Gen. iii. 15. **When**, for 'the time when.' *Attend* = 'wait,' from the Italian *attendere*, French *attendre*. Cf. *P. L.* vii. 407: 'Or in their pearly shells at ease *attend* moist nutriment.' *Merchant of Venice*, iv. 1, 'he *attendeth* here hard by to know your answer.' See ii. 370, n.

L. 55. 2 Peter iii. 8. 'Time is as nothing to the Deity; long and short having no existence to a Being with whom all duration is present. Time to human beings has its stated measurement. . . . time to guilty beings, human or spiritual, passes so quick, that the hour of punishment, however protracted, always comes too soon.' (*D.*)

L. 57. **Circling hours.** *P. L.* vi. 3. So κυκλεῖν, &c. in Greek; e.g. Soph. *Electra*, 1365, κυκλοῦνται νύκτες ἡμέραι τε, Eur. *Alc.* 449, κυκλᾶς ἄνικα Καρνεῖον περιίσσεται ὥρα μηνός. Hence the hours were personified as maidens dancing. Cf. *P. L.* iv. 267. The metaphor is continued in 'compassed,' i.e. 'brought round.'

L. 59. **Bide.** See Glossary.

L. 61. **All our power to be infringed** = 'the infringing of all our power,' the subject of the verb 'be intended.' 'Infringed' is used, as generally in Shakspeare, in its literal sense of 'broken,' from *in* and *frango*. Cf. Chapman's *Iliad*, vii. 6, 'to *infringe* my sovereign mind.' Keightley quotes from Waller's *Battle of the Summer Islands*, 'The shallow water doth her force *infringe*.'

L. 65. **Destined to this**, i.e. 'to bruise our head,' &c.

**Late** = 'lately,' not in 'fulness of the time' (Gal. iv. 4), for which it might here be mistaken.

L. 69. **Multiplies**, in the general Latin sense of 'increase.' Cf. Ovid, *Rem. Amoris*, 98, 'flumina collectis *multiplicantur* aquis.'

L. 71. Cf. *P. L.* ix. 13, 'Misery, death's *harbinger*;' *S. A.* 721. A 'harbinger' is properly one sent on to provide *harbour* (*harborough*, A. S. *hereberga*), i.e. shelter or lodging for another, as in *Macbeth*, i. 4, where Macbeth says to Duncan,

'I'll be myself the *harbinger*, and make joyful  
The hearing of my wife with your approach.'

Hence came the general sense of *forerunner*. See Glossary.

L. 73. **Pretends to wash off sin.** It is possible that Milton, though speaking of the 'baptism of John,' puts into the mouth of Satan his own views on the doctrine of the cleansing away of original sin in Christian baptism. By the Council of Trent it was laid down:—*'Si quis per Jesu Christi gratiam, quæ baptismate confertur, reatum ('the guilt') originalis peccati remitti negat . . . anathema esto.'* We may be sure that Milton did not subscribe to the above dogma; in the *Christian Doctrine* he defines baptism as that 'wherein the bodies of believers who engage themselves to pureness of life are immersed in running water, to signify their regeneration by the Holy Spirit' (Acts xxii. 16; 1 Cor. vi. 11; Ephes. v. 26). So in *P. L.* xii. 442, baptism is called 'the sign of washing them from guilt of sin to life.' Shakspeare (*Henry V.* i. 2) makes the king say,

'What you speak is in your conscience washed  
As pure as sin with baptism.'

L. 74. **Or rather, &c.** By insinuating that this was the real object of John's baptism, Satan introduces the matter with which he and his angels were more immediately concerned, the dreaded establishment of Christ's empire over his own.

L. 75. Prof. Masson remarks that the *Cæsura* (i.e. conclusion of a sentence or clause in the middle of a line) rarely occurs after the fourth foot. Yet there are several instances in this Book alone, e.g. ll. 79, 216, 274, 277, 389, 483, and many more in Book ii.

L. 77. **Thence** = 'therefore' lit. 'from this (cause).' [*The-n-ce* contains three elements: (1) *The* demonstrative pronoun, (2) *-n* the locative sign, (3) *-ce* = *-es*, sign of the genitive case, denoting 'of' or 'from.' So in Latin *inde*, *unde*, are used for *ejus*, *cujus*, or for *ex eo*, *ex quo*.]

L. 82. **Unfold her crystal doors**, Matt. iii. 16. In his Elegy on Felton, Bishop of Ely, Milton speaks of the '*nitentes fores Olympi et regiam crystallinam.*' *Crystal* = 'shining' in Shakspeare, 1 *Hen.* vi. 1, 'your crystal tresses.'

L. 83. St. Luke (iii. 22) says, 'the Holy Ghost descended in bodily shape (σωματικῶ εἶδει) as a dove.'

L. 84. **Sovran**, in first edition *sov'raign*. See Glossary.

L. 85. **Am pleased.** For the ellipse of subject of the verb



cf. ll. 137, 221, *P. L.* ii. 730, 'know'st for whom?' Here and in l. 137 the inflexion shews the person, but this is not always the case. Abbott, *Sh. Gram.* § 402, explains this ellipse 'partly by the influence of Latin, partly by the rapidity of Elizabethan pronunciation, which frequently changed *he* into '*a*', as "'a must needs," 2 *Hen.* vi. 4. 2, and thus prepared the way for dropping *he* altogether.'

L. 87. **Obtains** = 'holds,' the proper sense of *obtineo*. So we sometimes say 'this does not *obtain*,' i.e. 'does not *hold* good.'

L. 90. *Paradise Lost*, vi. 834-866.

L. 91. Satan is represented as knowing Jesus to be the Son of God in a certain sense (see Bk. iv. 501, 515-521), but not as the Messiah. The scheme of the poem requires this assumption, since the object of the temptation was to try how far he was the Son of God. In the *Christian Doctrine*, ch. v. Milton maintains that Jesus was (1) different in *essence* from the Father and inferior to him, (2) begotten *in time* and not from all eternity, (3) one with the Father in will and in love, (4) dependent on the Father for his divine powers, (5) existing in the *image* of God, which is also said (in a lower sense) of men by creation. See Introduction, p. xiii.

L. 93. Hebrews i. 3. Cf. *P. L.* iii. 384 :—

'Begotten Son, Divine Similitude,  
In whose conspicuous countenance, without cloud,  
Made visible the Almighty Father shines ;  
Whom else no creature can behold ; on thee  
Impressed the effulgence of his glory abides.'

L. 94. This is adapted from the Greek proverb ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἀκμῆς, 'on a razor's edge,' to express extreme danger. Cf. Homer, *Iliad* x. 173. Milton speaks of the 'perilous edge of battle' in *P. L.* i. 276 ; 'extreme edge of hazard' occurs in Shakspeare, *All's Well*, iii. 3.

L. 95. See first note on l. 44.

L. 97. **Couched**, from *coucher* (*collocare*) 'to lay.' So in Latin, *insidias struere*, 'to lay snares,' **Woven**, like *nectere*, as in Virg. *Æn.* vi. 609, 'fraus *innexa* clienti.' The metaphor is from the entanglement of threads in a web. Cf. Scott's *Marmion*, vi. 17 :—

'O what a *tangled web* we weave,  
When first we practise to deceive.'

L. 100. **Sole undertook**. Cf. *P. L.* ix. 135. 'To me shall be the glory *sole*,' &c. Chapman, *Iliad*, ii. 484, 'with him did *sole*

contend ;' Quarles, *Emblems*, ii. 4, 'are we *sole* guilty?' *Sole* was once co-extensive with *only* or *alone* ; it is now used only as an epithet, as 'the *sole* cause.' Cf. ii. 110, iii. 26. For the unwillingness of the other rebel angels to undertake the expedition see *P. L.* ii. 420-426.

L. 103. **A calmer voyage.** Because Satan had not now to pass through Chaos, that 'wild abyss,' that 'boggy Syrtis, neither sea nor good dry land' (*P. L.* ii. 910, 939), after emerging from which it is said that 'Satan with less toil and now with ease wafts on the calmer wave' (*Ib.* 1041). *Now* his way would lie through the region of the air.

L. 104. **The way found, &c.**, i.e. 'the *fact* that the way was found,' &c. See note on 'recovered Paradise,' l. 3.

Ll. 106-181. *Entrusted with his mission, Satan repairs to the banks of Jordan, expecting to find Jesus there. God the Father in an assembly of his angels acquaints them with his purpose, that his Son shall first be tried by Satan in the wilderness, but shall finally overcome him. The angels sing a hymn of triumph.*

L. 107. **Amazement.** See note on ii. 38.

L. 112. **Main** = 'great.' See Glossary.

L. 113. **Dictator.** Because the council had invested him with full powers, like those conferred upon the Roman dictators. After his ill success in the first temptation, Satan seeks advice (ii. 144), and takes with him a chosen band of spirits (*ib.* 236).

L. 115. See Satan's address in *P. L.* x. 460-474 ; also Introduction, p. xviii.

L. 117. **Gods**, not only as rulers of earth and air (Eph. vi. 12), but because a common mediæval belief identified them with the gods of the heathen. Cf. *P. L.* i. 361, and l. 480, n.

L. 119. The wilderness of the Temptation bordered on the right bank of the Jordan ; hence St. Luke says of Jesus after his baptism, ὑπέστρεψεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου. **Coast** = 'side' or 'bank,' Lat. *costa*, Fr. *côte*. St. Matthew ii. 16, speaks of the 'coasts' of Bethlehem, an *inland* town, meaning 'borders' or '*environs*.'

L. 120. **Easy steps**, an intended contrast with *P. L.* i. 295, where Satan walks with his spear 'to support *uneasy steps* over the burning marle.' (*D.*)

**Girded**, Lat. *accingere*, as in Virg. *Æn.* iv. 493, 'magi-

*cas accingier artes.* The girdle not only held up the garments when despatch was required, but also served as a pocket; hence *girded* = 'equipped.' Cf. '*dolis instructus*,' *Æneid*, ii. 152. Newton refers to Eph. vi. 14.

**Snaky wiles.** Cf. iii. 5.

L. 122. **Man of men**, i.e. 'man supreme among men;' one who combines all human excellence in his own person. So 'Heaven of heavens,' l. 366.

**Attested**, by the descent of the Holy Ghost and the divine voice at his baptism. Cf. l. 37.

L. 124. **Whom he suspected raised.** There is no need to suppose an ellipse of 'to be' before 'raised.' After verbs of hearing, seeing, judging, &c., a participle or adjective may be put in apposition with the object, as 'I heard him praised,' 'I thought you wrong,' &c. Cf. ll. 254, 276; *P. L.* i. 508, 'Gods yet *confest later* than heaven and earth.'

L. 126. **Contrary**, adverb, as in iv. 382, *P. L.* x. 506.

**Unweeting.** Cf. 'unweetingly,' *S. A.* 1684. See Glossary.

L. 128. **Frequency** = 'assembly,' the proper sense of *frequentia*; Cic. in *Verrem*, ii. 77, '*summa hominum frequentia*.' Jonson, *Catiline*, iv. 2, has 'Who of such a *frequency* . . . saluted thee?' a translation of Cicero's *ex tanta frequentia*. 'Full frequency' occurs again in ii. 130. Cf. Tennyson, *Princess*, iv. 422, 'Not in this *frequency* can I lend full tongue.' *Frequent* = 'crowded,' in *P. L.* i. 794, '*frequent* and full,' and in Chapman's *Iliad*, ii. 71, '*frequent* bees.'

L. 129. **Gabriel** is the angel of the Gospel narrative, sent to Zacharias and to the Virgin Mary. 'The Jewish Rabbis say that Michael was the minister of severity, but Gabriel of mercy; hence Gabriel is made the guardian of Paradise, *P. L.* iv. 561, while Michael is employed to expel our first parents out of it, xi. 99, &c.' (*N.*)

The 'smiling' face of the Deity contrasts with Satan's 'looks agast and sad,' in l. 43.

L. 130. **Proof** = 'experience,' as in l. 11. Here again there is an allusion to the 'trial by combat,' in which the victor was said *probasse veritatem litis*. This is continued in ll. 174-177, where the Son is described as 'entering his great *duel*,' while the Father '*ventures* his filial virtue.'

L. 131. **Angels** are called 'ministering spirits' in Hebrews

i. 14. Newton quotes a verse attributed to Orpheus, ἄγγελοι, οἷσι μέμλε βροτοῖς ὡς πάντα τελείται, as Milton's possible original here.

L. 133. **Solemn message late**, i.e. 'the message *lately* entrusted to thee.' Todd puts the comma after 'message,' taking 'late' as an adverb with 'sent'; but the order 'late on which,' &c. is against this reading.

L. 136. Luke i. 32.

L. 137. **Then toldst her**. See note on l. 85.

L. 143. **Assay**. See Glossary.

L. 144. **Because he boasts, &c.** See l. 100.

L. 146. **Apostasy** = 'apostates.' Dunster compares 'numerous servitude,' *P. L.* xii. 132. So the Latin *servitium* = 'slaves'; also *servitus* in Hor. *Od.* ii. 8, 18. In a MS. draft of the plot of a drama on Sodom (preserved in the Trin. Coll. Library at Cambridge) Milton speaks of 'the rest of the *serviture*,' i.e. 'servants.' Cf. Eur. *Alceſtis*, 606, where παρουσία = οἱ παρόντες.

L. 147. **Overweening**, a noun, and the object of 'learnt.' To learn 'less overweening' = to learn 'more modestly.' See Glossary.

L. 152. **At length**. The final victory had yet to be gained. See iv. 622.

L. 154. **Winning, &c.** See on l. 44, and Introduction, p. xviii.

L. 157. **Rudiments**. In Latin *rudimenta* are first essays. Cf. Virg. *Æn.* xi. 157, 'belli dura rudimenta.' *Ponere rudimenta* is 'to lay aside the rudiments,' i.e. 'to have passed one's novitiate.'

L. 159. For Sin and Death personified, see *P. L.* ii. 746, &c.

L. 160. There should be a full stop after 'foes.' In the first edition there is no stop; but Milton was careless about punctuation.

L. 161. **His weakness**, i.e. in his *human* nature. In the following lines 'the Angels are invited to behold the triumphs of the *Man* Christ Jesus over the enemy of mankind; and these surprise them with the glorious discovery of the God.' (Calton.)

L. 162. **Mass** forcibly brings out the idea of inert passive resistance, which is harder to subdue than even the active opposition of 'Satanic strength.'

L. 164. **They now, &c.** This clause is parenthetical. In Greek it would be made clearer by the use of μέν and δέ, e.g. ἵνα πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι—οἱ μὲν νῦν, ἀνθρώποι δὲ ὕστερον—μάθωσι, &c.

L. 165. **From** = 'because of,' like *ex* and *propter* in Latin.

L. 165. **Chose**, the shortened past participle, for *chosen*.

All A.S. participles of the strong conjugation ended in *-en*, and were declined as adjectives, like *wooden*, &c. Afterwards most verbs dropped this *-en* (as *fought*, &c.); others used both forms, often with a distinction of meaning (as *bid* and *bidden*, *drunk* and *drunken*, &c.) We have lately restored the *-en* to many past participles which were without it in the time of Shakspeare and Milton; e.g. *broke*, *spoke*, *trod*, *stole*, *forgot*, &c. *Chose* is less common—in fact, Milton uses it only here and in Psalm iv. 13.

L. 166. In *P. L.* iii. 308, the Father says to his Son:—

‘Because thou . . . hast been found  
By merit, more than birthright, Son of God . . .  
Therefore thy humiliation shall exalt  
With thee thy manhood also to this throne.’

In the *Christian Doctrine*, ch. v. (see l. 91, n.), Milton says, ‘He who when made man was endowed with the highest degree of virtue, by reason of that virtue is even now in heaven.’ But it is argued that all this ‘can never prove that the Son is of the same essence with the Father.’

L. 168, &c. Contrast this with ll. 106, &c. ‘The infernal crew are “distracted and surprised with deep dismay;” all Heaven stands awhile in admiration. The fiends are silent through fear and grief; the angels burst forth into singing with joy and the assured hopes of success.’ (N.)

L. 171. **Circling the throne.** Cf. *P. L.* v. 162. ‘In his original plan of the *Paradise Lost* under a dramatic form Milton proposed to introduce a chorus of angels.’ (D.) Dante, in the *Paradiso*, divides the angels into hierarchies, each containing three choirs, who sing as they move in circles round the throne.

L. 172. **Sung.** Cf. l. 1. The Elizabethan writers commonly use the preterite with the vowel *u*, which is now confined to the past participle. Milton has *sang* only in *P. L.* iii. 383, vii. 192, and *Lycidas*, 186. The A.S. preterite of some verbs had *a* in the first and third singular only, and *u* in the other persons. Afterwards the distinction ceased to be observed. (Abbott, *Sh. Gram.* § 339.) For the ‘hand singing with the voice’ Calton refers to iv. 254, *Arcades*, v. 77, also Tibullus, iii. 4, 41, ‘*digitum cum voce locuti*.’ Lucretius, iv. 588, has ‘*digitis canentum*.’ Milton here adopts the wider sense of *canere*, which means ‘to play on an instrument’ as well as ‘to sing.’

L. 172. **Argument**, the ‘theme’ of the song. Cf. *P. L.*

ix. 13, Shaksp. *Sonnet* 76, 10, 'You and love are still my *argument*.' In *P. L.* vi. 84 it means the device on a shield; and in x. 800 and elsewhere it is used in the modern sense of reasons alleged as a proof. All these significations come naturally from the Latin *arguere*, 'to make clear;' hence 'show,' and 'prove.'

L. 174. **Duel** is here used strictly of a single combat, a personal contest between Jesus and Satan. There is an apparent *verbal* discrepancy with the words of Michael to Adam in *P. L.* xii. 387, 'Dream not of their fight as of a *duel*;' but no real contradiction. For Michael is there correcting the mistake of Adam, who understood the 'bruising of the serpent's head' too literally; and here the added words 'not of arms' shew that 'duel' is to be taken figuratively. Moreover the passage in *Paradise Lost* refers not merely to the Temptation, but to the whole result of Christ's life and death, crowned by the Resurrection.

L. 175. **Vanquish**, probably with accent on the last syllable, as in *Henry VI.* Part I. iii. 3, 'I am *vanquished*. But the line may be scanned—' Bút to | vāquish | by wís | dom, &c. In *S. A.* 33. and in Spenser, *F. Q.* ii. 4, 16, we have *captived*; also commonly *illustrate*, *contemplate*, *aspect*, *triumph*, &c. This is the French accent, which in Chaucer's time was commonly kept, as in *nature*, *prisión*, *servdnt*. The true English accent goes back to the root of a word, and often beyond it, as *contemplate*; the French accent on final syllables, as *mortāl*, *natiōn*, &c., represented the Latin *long* syllable in *mortālem*, *natiōnem*, &c. (See Brachet's *Hist. Fr. Gram.* Clar. Press, p. 33.)

L. 177. **Ventures, &c.** See note on l. 130. The Father sends the Son like a knight into the lists. **Though untried** means that the angels were as yet ignorant that the Son was the Messiah who had driven the rebel spirits out of heaven (*P. L.* vi. 101, &c.) They are to learn this for the first time from the issue of the impending conflict (l. 163, &c.)

L. 180. **Frustrate**. Cf. 'attent,' l. 385, 'submit,' l. 476, 'suspect,' ii. 399, 'interrupt,' *P. L.* iii. 84, 'pollute,' *Nat. Hymn*, 41, 'illustrate Hector' (= 'illustrious') in Chapman's *Iliad*, vi. 74. Shakspere has *deject*, *exhaust*, *waft*, *enshield*, &c. Some of these were imported directly from Latin participles, and the process was afterwards extended by analogy to words not derived from the Latin, as *waft*, *heat*, &c. In *P. L.* viii. 576, we find 'adorn' for *adorned* (cf. Ital. *adorno* for *adornato*), where not a vestige of the

participial ending remains. We now use these shortened participles chiefly in official titles, as 'bishop *designate*,' &c., or else as adjectives; e.g. 'a *moderate* man,' 'a *degenerate* race.'

Ll. 182-293. *Meanwhile Jesus, meditating upon his office of Saviour to mankind, is led by the Spirit into the wilderness. He tells in a soliloquy what high and noble impulses he had felt from his youth; how his mother Mary had told him of his divine parentage, and of the signs which attended his birth; how he himself, having searched the prophecies of the Messiah, had concluded that he was the man of whom they spoke; finally how this conclusion was confirmed by the recent testimony at his baptism.*

L. 182. **Vigils** = 'evening hymns' ('evensong,' *Il Penseroso*, 64). *Vigil*, properly the hour of watching, came in the plural to mean the services used during the watch. So *matin* and *matins*. In *P. L.* vii. 450, the angels celebrate the sixth day's creation 'with evening harps and *matin*.'

L. 183. Thyer compares *P. L.* iii. 416:—

'Thus they in heaven above the starry sphere  
Their happy hours in joy and hymning spent;  
*Meanwhile* upon the firm opacous globe  
Of this round world,' &c.

The form is borrowed from those passages in Homer and Virgil, where the scene changes from Olympus to earth, and *vice versâ*, e.g. Homer, *Iliad*, vii. 442; or Virgil, *Æneid*, x. 116.

L. 184. **Bethabara**. John i. 28, where the best MSS. read *Βηθαρία*. If this be correct, the conjectures which have been made respecting the site of Bethabara are of course futile. Some take it to be the Bethbárah mentioned in Judges vii. 24, the principal ford of the Jordan; others *Bethnimrah* (Joshua xiii. 27), east of the Jordan and nearly opposite Jericho. Lieut. Conder, of the Palestine Exploration, identifies Bethabara with a ford much further north, about 25 miles S.E. of Cana, now called *Makhádet 'Abdra*. Since Bethabara means 'House of Crossing,' there may have been many places on the Jordan bearing that name.

L. 185. **Revolving**, the Latin *revolvere* or *volvere*. Cf. Ovid, *Fast.* iv. 667, 'Numa visa *revolvit*;' Sallust, *Jug.* ch. vi. 'multa cum animo suo *olvebat*.' So in *S. A.* 1642, 'some great matter in his mind *revolved*.' Observe a different sense of 'revolve' in l. 259 of this Book.

L. 188. **Publish his godlike office**, i.e. make known unto men the purpose for which God had sent him into the world.

L. 189. Matt. iv. 1. 'Then was Jesus led up *of the Spirit*, &c.' To which Milton adds 'and his deep thoughts;' yet he explains in ll. 290, &c. that Jesus did not know the precise object of his being brought thither. Dr. Bushnell, in his Sermon on the Temptation, observes:—'Under these forms of expression the fact is signified, that the Spirit raises such a ferment in His bosom of great thoughts and contesting emotions, that He is hurried away to the wilderness for relief and settlement. . . . He is "driven of the Spirit" only in the sense that the crisis brought upon Him by His call and felt endowment drives him.' Cf. Mark i. 12, Ezek. iii. 14. So G. Fletcher (*Christ's Triumph on Earth*, l. 4) speaks of the 'waste desert, whither *heavenly fate and his own will* him brought.'

L. 193. **The bordering desert wild**. The wilderness of Judæa (Matt. iii. 1) extended all along the western coast of the Dead Sea. Its central part was called Engedi (Joshua xv. 62; 1 Sam. xxiv. 2). The traditional Quarantana, or Mount of Temptation, is placed at the extreme north of this wilderness. (See l. 354, n.) Farrar, *Life of Christ*, vol. i. ch. ix.

L. 196. Cf. *S.A.* 19, 20.

L. 199. **From without**. See ll. 227, &c.

L. 200. **Compared**, i.e. 'when compared with it (my present state).'

ll. 201-206. These lines were inscribed under an engraving by Cipriani in 1760, from the portrait of Milton aged ten, said to have been painted by the Dutch artist Cornelius Jansen. The poet's own childhood was characterised by *seriousness*, even to a fault; but there is no warrant for applying the assertion in l. 201 to the childhood of Jesus. A *perfect* child could not be devoid of the tastes and feelings natural to that age, though the stories told of his infancy in the Apocryphal Gospels must be rejected as absurd and revolting.

L. 203. **Serious** = 'seriously.' The Elizabethans constantly used adjectives as adverbs, e.g. *Taming of the Shrew*, i. 1, 'thou didst it *excellent*;' *Hamlet*, i. 5, 'grow not *instant* old,' &c. &c. Abbott (*Sh. Gram.* § 1) observes that many Old English adverbs were formed by adding *e* to the adj., as *bright*, adv. *brighte*; that the *e* was afterwards dropt, but the adverbial use kept, and that finally the usage was extended to words of foreign descent, as *excellent*, &c.



L. 204. John xviii. 37.

\* L. 206. **Above my years.** So Virgil, *Æn.* ix. 311, describes young Iulus as '*ante annos animumque ferens curamque virilem*' (*D.*)

L. 207. Psalm i. 2; cxix. 103.

L. 209. **Ere yet my age, &c.** Jesus was then full twelve years old (Luke ii. 42). The age had a special significance, 'for at the age of twelve a boy was called by the Jews a "son of the law," and first incurred legal obligation' (Alford's note).

L. 213. **Or their own.** Milton does not imply that Jesus acted the part of a teacher on this occasion. See Kingsley, *Good News of God*, p. 185. The Jewish Rabbis encouraged their disciples to put questions on any points of difficulty. Under such a system, with an intelligent enquirer, teachers as well as pupils could not fail to profit. Compare Satan's version of the incident, iv. 215-220.

L. 215. **Spirit**, in one syllable. See note on l. 8.

Ll. 215-220. Here again (cf. l. 201) Milton speaks in his own character. Of our Lord's earlier aspirations Scripture says nothing; and the whole tenour of his public ministry negatives the idea that he aimed at temporal power, or desired to alter the political condition of his countrymen. Still the general sense of these lines is consistent with the theory of *progressive* knowledge in the life of Jesus (Luke ii. 52) of which Milton takes full advantage in this poem. (See l. 292, n.)

L. 216. **One while.** See 'erewhile' in Glossary.

L. 218. Cf. Chorus in *Samson*, 1268-1276, beginning:

'Oh, how comely it is and how reviving,  
To the spirits of just men long opprest, &c.'

L. 221. **Yet held, &c.** For ellipse of the pronoun, cf. ll. 85, 137, n.

L. 225. **Not wilfully misdoing**, i.e. 'if he do no wilful harm'; a Greek use of the participle, as in Xen. *Anab.* i. 9. 13, ἐγένετο καὶ Ἕλληνι καὶ βαρβάρῳ μηδὲν ἀδικούντι ('if he did no wrong') ἀδεῶς πορεύεσθαι. **Unware**, also 'unwares,' as in *Death of Fair Infant*, l. 20. See Glossary.

L. 226. Cf. Virg. *Æn.* vi. 854, 'debellare superbos.' Milton first wrote 'destroy,' but altered it to 'subdue,' probably recollecting Luke ix. 56.

L. 228. **Inly.** Cf. l. 466; *P. L.* xi. 444; *Tempest*, v. 1, 'I have *inly* wept'; *Two Gent. of V.* ii. 7 (adjective), 'the *inly* touch of love.' Shelley, *Laon and Cythna*, iv. 122, has 'he *inly* weets.' See Glossary.

Ll. 229, &c. Dunster thinks Mary's speech inappropriate here. But see Introduction, p. xxxi.

L. 231. **Highth.** See note on l. 13.

L. 233. **Express** = 'pourtray,' 'represent,' as in iv. 601; *P. L.* viii. 440. Cf. Hebr. i. 3; Cic. *pro Rabirio*, ii. 4, 'magnitudine animi vitam patris *expresserit*.'

Ll. 234, &c.. Milton makes Mary instruct Jesus as to his divine nature and work, whereas Scripture represents him as correcting his mother's imperfect conceptions. (Luke ii. 49, John ii. 4.)

L. 240. Luke i. 32, 33.

L. 241. Repeated in iv. 151.

L. 242. Cf. iv. 593; *P. L.* xii. 366, 'a quire of squadroned angels'; *Nativity Hymn*, 115. *Quire* is phonetic for *choir*; see rubric after the Third Collect. In Addison's Criticism on *Paradise Lost* (1712) we find 'quires' altered to 'choirs' in the second edition.

L. 243. **Sung.** See note on l. 172.

L. 246. **Where they might see him;** sc. 'and told them' (*K*.) But this is doubtful.

L. 249. Nearly repeated from *P. L.* xii. 360.

L. 253. **Thy star.** Matt. ii. 2, 'we have seen *his star* in the east.' The Magi connected the appearance of the star with the birth of a distinguished person, who was to arise about that time in Judæa. **New-graven**, (*νεοχόρακτος*, Soph. *Ajax*, 6) recalls the ancient belief that the sky was a solid dome in which the stars were set. Cf. iv. 455, n. Hence 'cælum stellis fulgentibus *aptum*,' Virg. *Æn.* xi. 202. Cf. *Merch. of V.* v. 5, 'the floor of heaven is thick inlaid with patines of bright gold.'

L. 254. **Thee**, misprinted *the* in the second and succeeding editions.

L. 255. Luke ii. 25, 36.

L. 257. **Vested.** Cf. Sonnet xvii. 8, 'came *vested* all in white.' For the vestments of the high priest, see Exodus xxviii. 43.

L. 259. **Revolved**, not here = 'considered,' as in l. 185, but in the literal sense of *revolvere*, 'to unroll' the scroll, or 'volume' (*volumen*) of a book. Cf. Livy, xxxiv. 5, 'tuas Origines *revolvens*.'

L. 260. **Writ.** Cf. *S. A.* 1657, 'consolatories *writ*,' and sen l. 165, n.

L. 262. **Of whom, &c.** i.e. 'I am *he*, of whom, &c.' Cf. *P. L.* vii. 38, 'so fail not thou [him], who thee implores; ' viii. 647, 'sent from [him], whose sovran goodness I adore.' These are ex-

aggregations of the Latin construction, where the antecedent would certainly be expressed; it is not properly omitted in English, save when the relative is in the nominative case, as '*who* steals my purse steals trash.' 'The Jews thought that the Messiah would be unknown even to himself, till Elias had anointed and declared him' (Calton, from Justin Martyr).

L. 264. Cf. *Comus*, 972, 'Heaven hath . . . sent them here through hard assays;' *Macbeth*, iv. 3, 'the great *assay* of art.' Hence 'at all assays' = 'at all hazards.' For derivation see Glossary.

L. 267. Isaiah liii. 6.

L. 268. Some editions read 'nor' for 'or.' But see l. 495, n.

L. 269. **Waited** = 'waited for,' as in *P. L.* iii. 485. Cf. *P. L.* viii. 258, 'I *gazed* the ample sky;' *Macbeth*, ii. 2, '*listening* their fear;' *Lear*, i. 1, 'thou *swear'st* thy gods,' &c. &c. This ellipse of prepositions arose partly from Elizabethan fondness for brevity (Abbott, *Sh. Gram.* § 382), partly from imitating the Latin transitive construction of verbs like *cogitare*, *manere*, &c. It is especially common in descriptions of locality; cf. ll. 331, 354; *P. L.* ii. 409; vii. 475; Shaksp. *J. Caesar*, i. 2, '*arrive* the point proposed;' Spenser, *F. Q.* i. 7, 28, 'she *wandered* many a wood.' See also l. 414, n.

L. 270. 'Though Jesus and John were related, they were brought up in different countries, and had no acquaintance with each other. John says expressly "I knew him not." John i. 31' (*N.*) But see l. 26, n.

L. 271. **Not knew, &c.** i.e. '*but whom* I knew not,' supplied from '*whose* birth' (= 'the birth *of whom*').

L. 272. Cf. Isaiah xl. 3.

L. 276. **Me him.** For the supposed ellipse of the verb 'to be,' see l. 124, n.

L. 277. **Harbinger.** See l. 71, n, and Glossary.

L. 279. **His greater.** See note on 'his worthier,' l. 27. **Hardly** = 'with difficulty,' Lat. *vix, ægre* (Matt. xix. 23; Acts xxvii. 8). Milton has used the word only here and in *P. L.* ix. 304, where it has its modern meaning of 'scarcely.' Cf. *Two Noble Kinsmen*, v. 3:—

'So it fared  
Good space between these kinsmen; till heavens did  
Make *hardly* one the winner.

L. 280. **The laving stream.** Cf. 'the *laver* of regeneration' in the Office for Private Baptism of Infants.

L. 281. Cf. ll. 81, 82; Psalm xxiv. 7; *P. L.* vii. 205, 'Heaven opened wide her *ever-during gates*.' **From whence.** The 'from' is really redundant, being represented by the *-ce* in 'whence.' See l. 77, n. and cf. *P. L.* iii. 540; v. 257; x. 304, &c. &c.

L. 282. **Spirit.** See note on l. 8.

Ll. 292, 293. Milton here adopts the opinion (from Luke ii. 52) that Jesus did not from the first know all things, but that the divine wisdom communicated itself gradually to his mind. In the *Christian Doctrine*, ch. v., he says, 'Even the Son knows not all things absolutely, there being some secret purposes, the knowledge of which the Father has reserved to himself alone, Mark xiii. 32.' Dr. Bushnell (see l. 189, n.) observes—'He was not wholly unapprised of his Messiahship before, but had come to no adequate impression of what, as Messiah, He was to do and be. . . . As He was human, so there was to be a humanly progressive opening of His mind, and a growing presentiment of His great future.'

Ll. 294-345. *Jesus passes forty days in the wilderness, fasting. Satan appears, disguised as an old man; he marvels what could have brought Jesus alone into so desolate a place, and recognises him as the man whom John the Baptist had acknowledged to be the son of God. He dwells upon the hardships of life in the desert, and entreats Jesus to prove his divine power by changing some of the stones into bread.*

L. 294. Rev. xxii. 16. Spenser, in the *Hymn of Heavenly Love*, addresses Christ, 'O glorious Morning Star! O lamp of light!' So, in G. Fletcher's *Christ's Triumph after Death*, 89, the Ascension is compared to the rising of 'fairest Phosphor, the bright morning star.'

L. 296. **Horrid**, literally from *horridus*, i.e. 'bristling' with shrubs and thorns, as in Virg. *Georg.* ii. 69, '*arbutus horrida*;' *Æn.* i. 65, '*horrenti umbra*.' Cf. *Comus*, 428, '*horrid shades*.' Cowper, *Needless Alarm*, 16, has '*horrid brambles*.'

L. 297. Prof. Masson makes 'way' the subject of 'was,' and 'return' the object of 'marked.' But it was not 'the way he came' but the *returning*, that was difficult. 'Not having marked' (i.e. 'to him not, &c.') is an instance of what Prof. Masson himself elsewhere calls 'the misrelated participle,' which is due to Latin influence,—e.g. '*iter quo venerat, non contemplato, reditus difficilis erat*.' Of course 'way' must be supplied again with 'untrod.'

L. 209. The narrative is continued from l. 193.

L. **Lodged** agrees with 'thoughts ;' but the syntax is slightly involved by the intervening participle 'accompanied.'

L. 302. For the scanning of this line see Introduction, p. xliii.

L. 303. **Whether, &c.** answers to 'or harboured' (l. 307). The general sense is—'we are not told whether he *wandered about* during the forty days, or *spent the whole time* in one cave ;' but on the former supposition Milton enumerates the various places ('hill,' 'vale,' &c.) which he might have visited in his wanderings. Hence Jortin's proposed reading, '*some cave*,' would destroy the sense.

L. 304. **Anon** = 'in one (moment).' Cf. Matt. xiii. 20 ; Mark i. 30 ; and see my note on *Lycidas*, l. 169.

L. 306. **From the dew.** Psalm cxxxiii. 3. Dunster quotes from Maundrell's *Travels* :—'We were sufficiently instructed by experience what the Psalmist means by "the dew of Hermon ;" our tents being as wet with it as if it had rained all night.'

L. 307. **Harboured.** See l. 71, n. and Glossary s. v. **harbinger.**

L. 308. Matt. and Luke iv. 2.

L. 310. **Among wild beasts.** Mark i. 13. 'These are with Jesus, coming about Him in His prostrations, . . . going back as it were to the habit of Paradise, and symbolising by their harmless companionship the future Paradise which He is to restore' (Bushnell). Before the Fall the beasts are the companions of Adam and Eve (*P. L.* iv. 340, &c.), after it 'beast with beast gan war, and fowl with fowl' (x. 707) ; therefore on the appearance of this 'second Adam' Paradise is for a time restored and 'Eden raised in the waste wilderness.' Thus in both poems the idea is consistently maintained ; it is derived partly from that of a golden age of innocence (Isaiah xi. 6, 7 ; Virg. *Ecl.* iv. 22), partly from the belief in a special Providence protecting the good man (Psalm xci. ; Job v. 23, &c.) So in G. Fletcher's *Christ's Triumph on Earth*, ll. 8, &c. the beasts at first run to attack Jesus, but—

'When they saw their Lord's bright cognisance  
Shine in his face, soon did they disavance,  
And some unto him kneel and some about him dance.'

L. 312. **Worm**, formerly used of any reptile. Cf. *P. L.* ix. 1068 ; Shaksp. *2 Hen VI.* iii. 2, 'the mortal *worm*' = 'deadly *serpent*.' In *Antony and Cleopatra*, v. 2, the asp is called 'the pretty *worm* of Nilus.' So we speak of 'blind-worm' and 'slow-worm.' Golding

translated 'pennatis serpentibus' (Ovid, *Met.* vii. 350) by 'winged worms'; Dante and Ariosto use 'verme' of the serpent fiend (*K.*) 'The A.S. *wyrn* commonly means serpent, as *wyrmes getheah* = 'serpent's council,' *wyrmes lic*, 'a serpent's body,' in Caedmon.

L. 313. 'The tiger has never been known in Palestine' (*K.*) **Aloof.** See Glossary.

L. 314. In the *Fuery Queen*, I. i. 19, Archimage takes the disguise of 'an aged man in long black weeds yclad,' to deceive the lady and the knight. Thyer mentions an old Dutch picture of the Temptation, in which Satan is thus represented. Prof. Masson relies partly on this passage to support his theory that, in the *Paradise Regained*, Satan has lost much of his original dignity, and is passing into the ignoble character of Mephistopheles (see Introduction, p. xx.) But we prefer the view taken by De Quincey, that the image of the 'aged man' is meant to be 'in antagonism and intense repulsion' to Satan's real character. In Fletcher's poem (see on l. 310) Satan assumes the guise of a hermit, very old and infirm, who asks Jesus to share his cell for the night. **Weeds.** See Glossary.

L. 316. **To gather**, i.e. 'about to gather,' Lat. *collecturus*.

L. 320. **Perused.** Cf. *P. L.* viii. 267; *Romeo and Juliet*, v. 3, 'let me *peruse* this face'; *Comedy of Errors*, i. 2, 'I'll *peruse* the traders'; Tennyson, *Princess*, ii. 54, '*perused* the matting.'

L. 323. 'A *caravan* is a great convoy of merchants, who travel together for the sake of defence from robbers' (*N.*) It is the Persian *kârwan*. The word translated 'company' in Luke ii. 44 means a convoy of this sort.

L. 324. **Who returned** = 'and yet (if he so durst) returned'; in Latin *qui tamen*, &c. All this applies to the southern and uninhabited part of the desert, whither it is supposed Jesus might eventually wander. See l. 354, ii. 262 n.

L. 325. **Pined.** See Glossary. Bp. Hall, *Mystery of Godliness*, says of Jesus in the wilderness, 'they saw thee *pined* with fasting. **Droughth.** For spelling and derivation see Glossary.

L. 326. **Admire** = 'wonder' (Lat. *admirari*). Cf. *P. L.* i. 690; Rev. xvii. 6, 'I wondered with great *admiration*'; *Macbeth*, iii. 4, 'most *admired* disorder,' i.e. 'strange,' Jeremy Taylor says, 'In man there is nothing *admirable* but his ignorance.' Elsewhere, in the *Par. Regained* 'admire' has its modern meaning, and even here the notion of approval is involved.

L. 328. **Ford of Jordan.** See l. 184, n.

L. 329. **Thee.** Note the change from *relative* construction, 'whom late,' &c.

L. 331. **Dwell this wild.** See note on l. 269.

L. 333. **Aught.** See Glossary. Some editions put a comma after 'hear,' thus making 'ought' an antecedent to 'what.' Cf. *P. L.* v. 107, '*all what we affirm*' (German, *alles was*). This ought to be good grammar, 'what' being the neuter of 'who;' but 'which' (really = *who like*, A.S. *hwylc*) was early substituted for it (see Abbott, *Sh. Gram.* § 252). **Hear**, subj. = 'may hear.' Cf. Shakspeare, *Hen. V.* iv. 7, 'I care not who *know* it.' The subjunctive was once common; the sense alone can decide between it and the indicative, in all persons except the second or third singular. The verb 'to be' retains *be* throughout the pres. subj. as '(if) I *be*, thou *be*,' &c.

L. 334. **Fame** = 'report,' Lat. *fama*. Cf. 1 Kings x. 7:—'*Thy wisdom exceedeth the fame which I heard.*' Bacon's *Essay on Fame* speaks of 'false fames, true fames,' &c.

L. 335. **Who, &c.**, antecedent omitted, as in *P. L.* i. 648. See l. 262, n.

L. 339. **Stubs**, i.e. stumps or broken ends of shrubs and plants. The term is still used by rustics. Cf. Chaucer, *Knights Tale* 'trees of *stubbes* sharp and hideous to behold;' Dryden, *Palamon and Arcite*, 'prickly *stubs* instead of trees.' Fuller, *Worthies*, i. 193, speaks of trees 'one foot square at the *stub*.' Thyer, forgetting this use of the word, proposed to read 'shrubs.' See Glossary.

L. 340. Newton in his note on the endurance of the camel cites Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* viii. 26, '*Sitim et quatrduo tolerant.*' Tavernier says that camels will go without drink for eight or nine days; Cuvier gives ten or twelve as the limit.

Ll. 346-405. *Jesus reproves Satan for suggesting distrust of God, and tells him that he is discovered. Satan avows himself, and offers an artful apology for his conduct. God (he says) has granted him much liberty of action, nay sometimes has not disdained to employ him in His own service; though he has lost the power of practising virtue, he can still admire it; he is no foe to mankind, but rather their benefactor; the hopelessness of his condition has now made him desperate.*

L. 348. Dunster compares *P. L.* 810, where Satan is unmasked by the touch of Ithuriel's spear. Our Lord's superiority to the

angels enables him to see through Satan's disguise, which Ithuriel and Zephon could not do. In *P. L.* iii. 681 it is said that 'neither man nor angel can discern hypocrisy.' Hence the different demeanour of Satan; *here* he is submissive (l. 475), *there* he is contemptuous and prepares resistance (*P. L.* iv. 885), till a celestial sign deters him (*ib.* 1010).

L. 350. Milton supplies the connexion of the original passage, not given by St. Matthew, viz. the feeding with manna. See Deut. viii. 3.

Ll. 352, 353. Exodus xxiv. 18; 1 Kings xix. 3-8. **Eat** for 'ate' seems to have been common, and is even now in use, e.g. in Tennyson, *Audley Court*, 'we sat and eat.' Cf. *L'Allegro*, 120, 'how fairy Mab the junkets eat,' where Mr. Earle thinks that 'eat' had the sound of *ate*, to rhyme with 'feat,' pronounced *fute*. The A.S. pres. was *ete*, preterite *æt*.

L. 354. **Wandered this waste.** See on ll. 269, 331, and cf. Propert. ii. 28, 29, 'Ino etiam prima terras ætate vagata est.' Milton has been blamed for identifying this desert with that of Horeb, where Moses and Elijah wandered. This was so far away, as to be practically another wilderness, although joined by a continuous desert tract. Possibly the poet was aware of this, but forgot how great the distance was. See l. 193, n.

L. 356. **Knowing who, &c.** See l. 91, n. and iv. 514, &c.

L. 357. **Undisguised**, i.e. 'discovered,' not 'dropping his disguise,' as appears from l. 498. For the metre, see Introduction, p. xlii.

Ll. 358-405. For the demeanour of Satan throughout this address, see l. 348, n. Yet there is dignity in the speech mingled with submissiveness. Newton remarks on Milton's superior art here, as compared with that of Virgil, *Æn.* I. 314, &c., when Venus meets Æneas in disguise. He tells the reader at once that it is Venus; but Milton gives no hint that the 'aged man' is Satan, till Jesus discovers him. Thus the reader is as it were taken into the surprise.

L. 360. 'The angels which kept not their first estate' (Jude 6). Cf. *P. L.* vii. 145.

L. 361. For the metre, see Introduction, p. xli., and cf. ii. 171, 180, 405, 428.

L. 363. **Unconniving.** *Connivere* is 'to shut the eyes,' i.e. 'wink at' (Acts xvii. 30). Satan implies that he could not have escaped from hell without God's permission. In *P. L.* ii. 850, &c. Sin, the peccatrix of hell, breaks her trust and opens the gate, saying



that she would rather obey Satan her father, than God who hated her. For Milton's own views on divine predestination, see *P. L.* ii. 80-134, and *Chr. Doctrine*, ch. iii.

L. 365. **To round, &c.** Cf. *P. L.* x. 684: 'While the low sun . . . hath rounded still the horizon.' Tennyson, *In Mem.* lxii. 11: 'the circuits of thine orbit round a higher height.' Also intransitive, as in *P. L.* iv. 685: For Satan's new 'empire of earth and air' see l. 44, n. and Introduction, p. xviii.

L. 366. **Heaven of heavens.** Cf. l. 410; *P. L.* iii. 390; vii. 13; 1 Kings viii. 27; and see l. 122, n. In the *Chr. Doctrine*, ch. vii., Milton describes it as 'the highest heaven, the supreme citadel and habitation of God,' which, though not eternal, was created long before the world of man. In it 'seems to be situated the heaven of the blessed, sometimes called Paradise.'

L. 367. **He**, i.e. God, whose name, though not mentioned, the context easily supplies. **My resort sometimes**, i.e. 'sometimes he hath not forbidden me to resort,' &c. Cf. the Greek ἵστην ὅτε.

L. 368. Job i. 6; ii. 1, and opening of Goethe's *Faust*.

L. 370. Contrast the words of the Father, in ll. 147, &c. **Illustrate**. Cf. Chapman, *Iliad*, i. 491, 'illustrate the free reign of his wronged honour,' i.e. 'make glorious.' For the accent, see l. 175, n.

L. 372. 1 Kings xxii. 19, &c. **Fraud** = 'harm,' as in *P. L.* ix. 643. So *fraus*, in the old legal formula, 'sine fraude esto.' Cf. Hor. *Od.* ii. 19, 20, 'coerces . . . Bistonidum sine fraude crines.'

L. 373. **They demurring**, the *nom. absolute*. In Old English the *dative* was so used, of which Milton perhaps has instances; e.g. 'me overthrown,' *S. A.* 462; 'him destroyed,' *P. L.* ix. 130. (See Morris's *English Accidence*, § 102.)

L. 374. The Scripture account says simply 'a spirit stood before the Lord,' &c.

L. 375. **Glibbed**, not elsewhere used as a verb by Milton. Bp. Hall speaks of 'a drunken liberty of the tongue, glibbed with intoxicating liquor.' For the sense, cf. Jer. xxiii. 31 (margin), 'the prophets that smooth their tongues.'

L. 377. Though Satan was now 'changed in outward lustre' (*P. L.* i. 97; iv. 850), 'his form had not yet lost all her original brightness' (*ib.* i. 591).

L. 379. After Zephon's rebuke (*P. L.* iv. 845), Satan 'stood abashed,' and 'felt how awful goodness is.' So Persius (*Sat.*

iii. 38) says of the terrors of remorse, 'Virtutem videant, intabescantque relictæ.'

L. 380. Cf. *P. L.* ii. 482: 'For neither do the spirits damned lose all their virtue.' **Contémplate**; see note on l. 175.

L. 383. **What can be then less in me, &c.** The sense required is 'What less can I do than desire,' i.e. 'the least I can do is to desire.' Satan argues that he has certain faculties left, which enable him to admire virtue, though he cannot practise it; therefore he can still 'desire to see,' &c. But if 'in me' means 'in my nature,' the words of the text imply the exact opposite of this. It has been suggested (1) that 'in me' may mean 'in my feelings,' i.e. 'what less can I feel than desire, &c.'; a sense which Keightley's proposed amendment, 'What less can there be in me' would well bear. Or, (2) that 'less' = 'of less merit,' i.e. 'less remarkable,' like 'Is it a small thing,' in Numbers xvi. 13. Possibly, after all, Milton has committed an oversight here; a word like 'less' being liable to cause confusion, when joined to a word or phrase implying a negative. In the *Winter's Tale*, iii. 2, Leontes is made to say:

'I ne'er heard yet  
That any of these bolder vices wanted  
Less impudence to gainsay what they did  
Than to perform it first'—

where it should be either 'had less,' or 'wanted more.' So in *Macbeth*, iii. 6, 'Who cannot want the thought' should be 'who can want,' i.e. 'who can help thinking.' (See Clarendon Press Shakespeare on this passage.)

L. 385. **Attent**, directly from *attentus*. See on l. 180. Todd quotes from an old version of the Psalms, 'O Lord, assent, O hear *attent* my wofull cry!' Cf. Spenser, *F. Q.* vi. 9, 26: 'The knight with greedy care hung still upon her melting mouth *attent*.' Bp. Andrewes, in his Fifth Sermon on the Nativity, says, 'Whose ear standeth not *attent* to hear this *evangelizo*?'

L. 388. **Why should I?** sc. 'be so.' Prof. Masson has collected many instances of a similar ellipse of the verb 'to be'; e.g. *Comus*, 267: 'Unless (thou art) the goddess'; *P. L.* iv. 10: 'The tempter, ere (he became) the accuser of mankind'; *ib.* 948: 'pretending first (to be) wise to fly pain,' &c., &c.

L. 390. **Rather by them, &c.** The direct result of the Fall was to establish Satan's empire over man's world, and to introduce his offspring, Sin and Death, therein. See *P. L.* x. 229-409, espe-

cially the passage beginning 'Thine now is all this world' (l. 372), and Satan's reply, in which he boasts to have 'made one realm Hell and this world, one continent of easy thoroughfare' (l. 392).

L. 394. Newton cites Cicero *De Divinatione*, i. 51, where three kinds of divination are mentioned—'somnia,' 'vaticinationes,' and 'oracula.' To these are added 'portenta' in the treatise *De Natura Deorum*, ii. 65. 'Presages' (*pra-sagire*) are mental forebodings; 'Portents' (*pro-tendere*) are unusual events taken as signs of impending calamities. These are usually joined with 'prodigia' and 'monstra.' For the early Christian belief in the Satanic origin of oracles &c. see l. 430, n.

L.l. 397. 398. Raphael had so warned Adam (*P. L.* vi. 900) :

'Satan, he who envies now thy state,  
Who now is plotting how he may seduce  
Thee also from obedience, that with him  
Bereaved of happiness thou may'st partake  
His punishment, eternal misery.'

L. 399. **It may be** = not exactly, 'it may have been so,' but 'it may be the fact that it was so.' Lat. '*fieri potest ut sic fuerit.*'

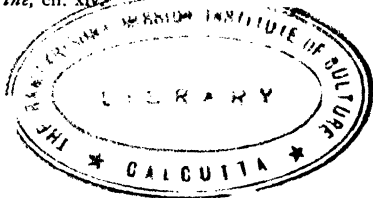
L. 400. **Nearer**, misprinted 'never' in the first edition, but corrected in the Errata. **Proof** = 'experience.' See on l. 11. For the sentiment of *King Lear*, iii. 6 :

'But then the mind much sufferance doth o'erskip,  
When grief hath mates, and bearing fellowship.'

Thyer quotes the line, 'Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris.'

L. 404. **What can it**, sc. 'do.' *Can* originally meant 'know' (*P. ken*, *G. kennen*), and therefore required no infinitive. 'To be able' (*G. können*) = 'to know *how*' (cf. *Lycius*, 10, 'he *knew* to sing'); and 'can' in this sense also often stood alone. Cf. *Hamlet*, iv. 7, 'they *can* well on horseback.' Scott, *Lay of Last Minstrel*, ii. 68, 'Other prayer *can* I none.' Bacon, *Essay* xi., even has 'not to *can*.'

L. 405. Thyer observes that Satan artfully alludes to Man's restoration, in order to induce Jesus to reveal his design of accomplishing it; but without success. On the Restoration of Man, see *Chr. Doctrine*, ch. xiv.



Ll. 406-464. *Jesus sternly rebukes Satan for his false assertions of liberty and of obedience, telling him that he is the deceiver, and not the benefactor of mankind, whom God for the present allows to be thus deluded; but that henceforth his influence shall cease, for the Spirit of truth is even now come.*

L. 407. **Composed of lies, &c.** John viii. 44.

L. 410. **Heaven of heavens.** See notes on ll. 122, 366.

L. 411. **Captive thrall.** Cf. *P. L.* x. 402; Spenser, *F. Q.* iv. 4. 24, *S. A.* 1626, 'who had made their dreadful enemy their *thrall*.' The O. E. *drael*, L. Scotch *thril* (*thirl*), means 'a slave; ' hence *thral-dom* = 'slavery,' a sense now sometimes improperly given to *thrall*. Cf. Tennyson, *Sir Galahad*, 16, 'to save from shame and *thrall*.'

L. 413. **Among the prime,** literally from the Lat. *inter primos*. Cf. *P. L.* i. 506; ii. 423; iii. 637. Elsewhere Milton uses 'prime' either as an epithet, e.g. '*prime* wisdom,' *F. L.* viii. 194, or = 'early time' or 'excellence,' as in *P. L.* v. 21, 'we lose the *prime*;' ix. 305, 'Ceres in her *prime*.'

L. 414. **Emptied.** Cf. Philipp. ii. 7, where it is said that Christ *ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσε*, lit. '*emptied* himself' (of his glory). **Gazed** = 'made a gazing-stock' (Heb. x. 33). Cf. *P. L.* v. 272, 'a phoenix *gazed* by all.' This is the passive construction of verbs such as those enumerated in the note on l. 269.

L. 416. Cf. *P. L.* ix. 467:

'But the hot hell that always in him burns,' &c.

L. 417. **Imparts,** corrected from 'imports' in the Errata to the first edition. (See l. 400, n.)

L. 420. **No never more,** sc. 'thou art.' See note on l. 388.

L. 421. In answer to Satan's assertion in l. 377. **But thou art** = 'but *thou sayest* thou art,' like 'At enim' in Cicero, introducing a supposed objection.

L. 423. Cf. the words of Satan to Beelzebub, *P. L.* i. 160.

'To do aught good will never be our task.

But ever to do ill our sole delight.'

L. 424. **Misdeem.** See Glossary.

L. 426. **His patience won.** Newton remarks upon the rare use of 'win' absolutely, now so common. Milton thus uses it only here and in *P. L.* vi. 122; in Shakspeare it is mostly transitive, but we find 'they laugh and *win*,' *Othello*, iv. 1; 'our son shall *win*,'

*Hamlet*, v. 2, &c. The A. S. *winnan* means both 'to strive' and 'to gain by striving.'

L. 428. 1 Kings xxii. 6.

L. 430, &c. Oracles &c. were commonly thought to be given by demons. St. Paul (1 Cor. x. 20) calls the heathen gods *δαίμονια*; Thyer quotes from St. Augustine's treatise, *De Divinatione Dæmonum*:—'miscent tamen isti [dæmones] fallacias, et verum, quod nōsse potuerint, non docendi magis quam decipiendi fine prænuntiant' (l. 432). See ii. 188, 190, n.

L. 434. Cf. Cic. *De Divinatione*, ii. 56: 'Sed jam ad te venio, sancte Apollo . . . Tuis enim oraculis Chrysippus totum volumen implevit, partim falsis . . . partim casu veris . . . partim flexiloquis et obscuris . . . partim ambiguis' (Calton). For instances, cf. the famous oracle to Croesus about crossing the Halys, and the one to Pyrrhus, 'Aio te, Æacida, Romanos vincere posse,' quoted in Shaksp. *2 Hen. VI.* i. 4. In *2 Hen. IV.* iv. 4, the prophecy that the king should die 'in Jerusalem' is fulfilled by his decease in the *Jerusalem* chamber.

L. 435. **Double sense.** Cf. *Macbeth*, v. 8, 'these juggling fiends . . . that palter with us in a *double sense*.'

L. 437. A pure Latinism = 'what *is* not well understood *is*' &c. *Quod non bene intellectum idem quod ignotum.*

L. 439. **Instruct.** Cf. l. 180; ii. 399, n.

L. 447. **His angels president, &c.** The Septuagint version of Deut. xxxii. 8 has 'he set the bounds of the nations *according to the number of the angels of God*.' This rendering follows a Jewish notion that the nations of the earth are seventy in number (Gen. x.), each having its guardian angel. In the *Chr. Doctrine*, ch. ix., Milton asserts that 'there are certain angels appointed to preside over particular districts,' quoting Daniel iv. 13, 17.

L. 452. Cf. *P. L.* iv. 957-960. **Parasite** (*παρὰ σίτος*), one who takes his meals with another, or feeds at another's expense. Cf. Plaut. *Cuplivi*, I. i. 7: 'Nos parasiti, quasi mures, semper edimus alienum cibum.' This despicable class of men became the pest of Roman society, being encouraged by the rich, for whom they would perform the most degrading services to obtain a meal. Thus the parasite in Plautus, *Miles Gloriosus*, excuses his servility by saying, 'Offæ monent; venter creat omnes has ærumnas.' Hence the 'parasite' became a standing character in Roman comedy. (See Smith's *Dict. of Antiq.* s. v. **Parasitus**.)

L. 453. The demons were believed to have learnt the purposes of God before their fall, and thus to be able to foretell many things,

pretending that they themselves were the authors of their predictions.

L. 455. **Oracling.** This verb seems not to occur elsewhere.

L. 456. Cf. *Nativity Hymn*, 173, &c. ; also the story about the death of 'Great Pan,' in Spenser's 5th Eclogue, originally from Plutarch. That oracles ceased at the birth of Christ is untrue ; for they are mentioned by Tacitus, Martial, Pliny the younger, and others. The *Sortes Antianæ* are spoken of as oracles in the fourth century (Hales; *Longer English Poems*, p. 226). There is a story that Augustus consulted the Delphic oracle concerning his successor, and received an answer which has been thus translated :

'A Hebrew child, whom the blest gods adore,  
Hæd bid me leave these shrines, and pack to hell ;  
Therefore my oracles consult no more,  
But leave my fane in silence, and farewell !'

On hearing this, he is said to have built an altar in the Capitol, bearing an inscription which Suidas gives in Greek : 'Ὁ βωμὸς ἐστὶν οἱ στίχοι τοῦ Πρωτοτόκου Θεοῦ.' Cowley, in his Elegy on the death of Crashaw, says, 'And though Pan's death long since all oracles broke, Yet still in rhyme the fiend *Apollo* spoke.' See l. 430, n.

L. 457. **Pomp** = 'procession' (πμπή). Cf. *P. L.* ii. 510 ; also viii. 61 : 'a *pomp* of winning graces.' Heylin, speaking of the state with which Bp. Juxon went to Westminster, writes, 'Many gentlemen followed two and two to make up the *pomp*.'

L. 458. **Inquired** = 'inquired of.' See l. 269, n. **Delphos**, a mediæval form for *Delphi*, arising probably from confusion with neuter nominatives like *Argos*, &c. Cf. *Nativity Hymn*, 178 ; Shaksp. *Winter's Tale*, ii. 1. So the accusatives 'Asson,' 'Mileton,' (Acts xx. 14, 15) were printed in the Bible of Henry VIII.

L. 460. **Living oracle**, λόγια ζῶντα (Acts vii. 38). Christ was now come as the 'living Word' of God. For Milton's views upon the Holy Spirit, see l. 12, n. In the *Chr. Doctrine*, ch. xxx., he says : 'The Scriptures, partly by reason of their own simplicity and partly through the divine illumination, are plain and perspicuous in all things necessary to salvation.' Cf. iv. 288.

Ll. 465-502. *Satan, dissembling, endeavours to justify himself. He pretends admiration for the discourse of Jesus, and begs to be allowed to hear more of it, but is told that this must be as God permits. Satan now disappears, and night comes on.*

L. 466. Cf. iv. 203. For **uly**, see l. 228, n. and Glossary.

L. 468. **Insisted**, from *insistere*, 'to take one's stand upon,' i.e. 'adopt' a course of action. Cf. *Cæsar*, *B. G.* iii. 14, 'quam rationem pugnae insisterent.'

L. 470. The *cæsura* (l. 75, n.) in the last foot of the verse is very rare (Masson). Cf. ii. 86; *Comus*, 702.

L. 474. Thyer sees an allusion to those who 'abjured' their republican principles at the Restoration. (See the account given of Major Bridgenorth in Scott's *Peveril of the Peak*.) **Say and unsay**. Cf. *P. L.* iv. 947.

L. 476. **Submiss**. See on ll. 180, 385. Not quite the same as 'submissive,' which implies more of *voluntary* obedience. 'Submiss' (= 'placed under') is the literal opposite of 'placed above' in the former line. Cf. *P. L.* viii. 316. 'Submissly' occurs in *Eccelus*. xxix. 5.

L. 477. **Glad**, sc. 'be.' See note on l. 388. For **scape** (not 'scape) and **quit**, see Glossary. **No quit**, i.e. with nothing worse than 'reproof.' 'To quit' is to clear from liabilities.

L. 478. So Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 289, says of the road leading to Virtue :—

'On Virtue's path delays and perils grow ;  
The gods have placed before the sweat that bathes the brow.  
And ere the foot can reach her high abode,  
Long, rugged, steep the ascent, and rough the road.'  
(Elton's Translation.)

In *Cebelis Tabula*, an allegory ascribed to Cebes the Theban, the road to True Learning is described as 'rough and hard to travel, a steep ascent, which few venture to try.' See also Spenser's description of the mansion of Honour and the palace of Pleasure, *F. Q.* ii. 3, 41.

L. 479. Cf. *Comus*, 476, 'How charming is divine philosophy !' &c. For 'discourse' = 'utter' or 'give forth.' Cf. *Hamlet*, iii. 2, 'It will discourse most eloquent music.'

L. 480. **Tuneable** = 'melodious' as in *P. L.* v. 151; *Mids. N. Dr.* i. 1, 'More tuneable than lark to shepherd's ear.' Adjectives

in *-ble* (like the Lat. *-bilis* generally) should mean 'what *can* be done,' not 'what *is* done,' but they are often used as mere participles both in Latin and English. Thus 'variable' = 'various,' *Rom. and Jul.* i. 2; 'terrible' = 'frightened,' *Lear*, i. 2; 'medicinal' = 'medicinal,' *Troilus*, iii. 3; 'deceivable' = 'deceptive,' *Ecclus.* x. 19.

L. 482. Cf. Ovid, *Met.* vii. 20, 'Video meliora proboque, Deteriora sequor.'

L. 483. **Who follow not, &c.** Prof. Masson cites this as an instance of the use of *who* for *that*; the distinction being that *who* is 'co-ordinate,' stating a fact, *that* is 'restrictive and explicative.' Thus, 'The soldiers *who* are brave will push on' simply states the fact that they are so; but 'the soldiers *that* are brave' means '*such of them as* are brave.' Or, as Dr. Abbott puts it (*Sh. Gram.* § 260), '*that* is used when a *class* is denoted,' as here; the sense being—'Men that are not *of such a sort* as to follow virtue, yet admire her.' Though this rule finds many exceptions in Shakspeare, it is far less strictly observed by Milton. As instances of 'who' for 'that,' cf. l. 324; *P. L.* vi. 599; Psalm i. 1; Sonnet xix. 14, &c.; of 'that' for 'who,' *Nativ. Hymn*, 101; *L. Allegro*, 31; *Comus*, 334, &c. **Lore** = 'teaching.' See Glossary.

L. 484. **Since no man comes.** Probably a stress should be laid on 'man;' i.e. 'since in this desert no *man* comes to hear thee, may I be allowed to do so, in the absence of better auditors?'

L. 485. **Attain**, used absolutely, as in *P. L.* iii. 196.

L. 487. **Atheous.** Cf. Cic. *De Nat. Deorum*, i. 23, '*atheos qui dictus est*' (*D.*); Bp. Hall speaks of '*atheous pagans*' and '*atheous men*.' Before his time 'atheal' was used. 'This is the second instance in this Book of Milton's having apparently adopted a word from Hall, Cf. l. 375, n. It will be remembered that Bp. Hall was the author of the *Humble Remonstrance* in favour of episcopacy, against which Milton directed his *Animadversions* in 1641.

L. 488. **To tread his sacred courts.** Cf. Isaiah i. 12. The case of Hophni and Phineas (1 Sam. ii. 12, &c.) will readily suggest itself. Milton may also have had in his mind the prevalent immorality in the Church after the Restoration, of which Bp. Burnet says: 'There was in the nation a spirit of extravagant joy, throwing off all professions of piety. . . . Pretences of religion both in hypocrites and honest enthusiasts gave advantage to the profane mockers of true piety.' Again, in 1661, 'There broke in upon the Church a great deal of luxury and high living. . . . The clergy became lazy and negligent in the true concerns of the Church, with



very few exceptions.' Burnet was a strong partisan, full of personal dislike to many of the clergy, and no supporter of episcopacy, but the above statements are contradicted neither by Lord Dartmouth nor by Swift, who in their notes on the Bishop's work lose no opportunity of questioning his facts or of criticising his motives.

L. 491. See Butler's sermon on the *Character of Balaam*. He argues that Balaam 'had just and true notions of God and religion' (Micah vi.), and was firmly resolved not to disobey the *letter* of God's command; but, being bent upon obtaining the desired permission, he cast about for means to reconcile his intentions with his duty.

L. 494. **Scope** = 'design,' as in *P. L.* ii. 127. Cf. Shaksp. *Rich. II.* iii. 3, 'thy coming hither hath no further *scope*;' and see Glossary.

L. 495. **Or**, for 'nor.' Milton is lax in his use of these conjunctions. Cf. l. 268; *P. L.* viii. 395, 'bird *or* fish . . . *nor* with the ox or ape.' In *P. L.* xi. 773 'neither' is followed by 'and.'

L. 496. So Gabriel says to Satan (*P. L.* iv. 1008) 'thine no more than heaven permits.' For 'canst' = 'canst do,' see l. 404, n.

L. 497. **Gray dissimulation**. Cf. Ode in *V. Novembris*, l. 80, where it is said of the king of hell, '*assumptis micuerunt tempora canis*.' 'His gray dissimulation' = 'his gray head by which he assumed his disguise,' i.e. 'his old dissembling head;' 'a true instance of *feliciter audet*' (Thyer). Cf. 'my early visitation' (*P. L.* xi. 275), i.e. 'the flowers *which I visited* at morn.' Keightley cites Ford's *Broken Heart*, iv. 2, 'Lay by thy shining gray *dissimulation*' as 'a mere coincidence.' But the *Broken Heart* came out about 1620, and was probably known to Milton.

L. 499. **Thin air**, from Virg. *Æn.* iv. 278, 'in tenuem . . . evanuit auram.' Cf. *Tempest*, iv. 1, 150.

L. 500. For 'wings of night,' cf. *L'Allegro*, 6; Virg. *Æn.* viii. 569, 'nox ruit, et cælum *fuscis* complectitur *alis*.' 'To 'double-shade' is to double the natural gloom of the desert (l. 296). Cf. *Comus*, 335, 'A double night of darkness and of shades;' Ovid, *Met.* xi. 550, 'duplicataque noctis imago est.'

L. 501. **Clay nests**. Cf. Ovid's *luteum opus*, of the swallow's nest (*Fasti*, i. 158).

L. 502. Psalm civ. 20.

## BOOK II.

**II. 1-57.** *The disciples of Jesus, uneasy at his long absence, begin to doubt. They reason whether he be in truth the Messiah, the promised deliverer of their nation; yet will they wait in patience, trusting that God's providence will not fail.*

**L. 1. The new-baptised.** Observe the distance between the subject and the verb in l. 11. Yet the sentence, though involved, is not at all obscure.

**L. 2.** The heavenly voice (i. 85) had proclaimed Jesus, not as Messiah, but as the Son of God,—a designation capable of bearing a wide sense (see on i. 91). And though Andrew is reported to have said, 'We have found the *Messias*' (John i. 41), and the Baptist spoke of him as 'the Lamb of God' (*ib.* 36), he was not certainly recognised as the Messiah, even by his own disciples.

**L. 6.** John i. 39, 'They came and saw where he dwelt,' &c. **I mean.** This phrase is common in Harrington's translation of *Orlando Furioso*, but it is too familiar to suit the gravity of an epic poem (*K.*) But Milton is probably imitating the λέγω of Greek tragedy, as Φιλοκτήτην λέγω (*Soph. Philoct.* 1218).

**L. 7. After.** Cf. Gen. xxxiii. 7, 'and *after* came Joseph near;' *Tempest*, iii. 2, 'Let's follow it, and *after* do our work.'

**L. 13.** Cf. Virg. *Æn.* vi. 870 (of the young Marcellus), '*Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata, neque ultra esse sinent*' (*N.*)

**L. 15.** Exodus xxiv. 18; xxxii. 1.

**L. 16. Thisbite,** of Tishbe or Thisbe in Gilead (1 Kings xvii. 1). *Thisbe* and *Thisbite* are Greek forms; and so in *Eleg.* iv. 97 Elijah is called 'vates terræ *Thesbitidis*.' Prof. Masson thinks Milton disliked the sounds of *sh* and *ch*, and for this reason wrote Basan, Silo, Beersaba, Asdod, &c.; yet there are many lines in his poems which militate against this theory, e.g. *P. L.* iv. 405:—

'Straight couches close, then rising changes oft  
His couchant watch, as one who chose his ground.'

Milton took most of his Scripture names from the Septuagint, as being more euphonious and less commonplace than the familiar Hebrew forms; much for the same reason that he wrote 'Rhene or the Danaw' in *P. L.* i. 352. He might fairly object to such a line as Bp. Hall's '*teach each hollow grove*,' &c.; still it is true (as

Prof. Masson observes) that Milton spells 'vouchsafe' as *voutsafe* in nearly every instance, thus obscuring the derivation.

L. 17. **Yet once again to come.** Malachi iv. 5; Matt. xvii. 11. From these passages the early Church was led to expect a re-appearance of Elijah before Christ's second coming.

L. 18. 2 Kings ii. 17.

L. 20. **Bethabara.** See i. 184, n. Supposing it to be near Jericho, and starting northwards from it, we shall find the other places in their order along the Jordan; **Jericho**, 'the city of palms' (Deut. xxxiv. 3); west of Jordan and north of the Dead Sea, **Ænon** (John iii. 23), near the Lake of Gennesareth; **Salem**, or Shalim (1 Sam. ix. 4, Gen. xxxiii. 18); **Machærus**, a strong fortress in Peræa, N.E. of the Dead Sea.

L. 21. **Salem old.** Milton uses the epithet 'old' either because Salem was the abode of Jacob (Gen. xxxiii. 18), or because he identifies it with the Salem of Melchisedek (Gen. xiv. 18) (*N.*) The position of 'old' after its noun is highly effective; cf. 'Bellerus old,' *Lycidas*, 160; 'Saturn old,' *P. L.* i. 519; 'giants old,' *S. A.* 148, &c. Mr. Lowell well observes that Milton loved epithets like 'old' and 'far,' that suggest *great reaches*, whether of space or time.

L. 23. **On this side**, as opposed to Peræa, which was 'beyond Jordan' (πέραν). But Jericho, Ænon, and Salem, though west of the Jordan, lie to the south of Gennesareth. **Broad** must refer to the size of the lake generally, which is long, not wide (*K.*)

L. 25. Maundrell, in his *Journey to Jerusalem*, describes the banks of Jordan as in some parts thickly overgrown with shrubs and reeds, in which wild beasts make their lair, till they are washed out by the sudden overflowing of the river. G. Fletcher, *Christ's Triumph over Death*, l. 12, speaks of the 'whistling reeds that rutty Jordan laves' (*D.*) **Creek** (probably akin to *crook*) is commonly used of the sea, but sometimes means a bend or indentation in a river; a sense which the word still bears in the colonies (*K.*) Cf. Davies, *Immortality of the Soul*, xv. 13:—

'As streams, which with their winding banks do play,  
Stopped by their creeks run softly through the plain.'

Also Tennyson, *Dying Swan*, 41, 'the desolate creeks and pools.'

L. 27. Cf. Spenser, *Shepherd's Cal.* i. 1:—

'A shepherd boy (no better do him call).'

L. 29. **Loss and plaints outbreathed.** An imitation of the classical figure called *zeugma*, by which a verb is made to

govern two nouns in two different senses. Thus, in Virg. *Æn.* i. 355, 'aras trajectaque pectora ferro *nudavit*' means '*disclosed the story of* the altars and *bared* his breast;' so here 'outbreathed' goes literally with 'plaints,' but must be taken as = 'bewailed' with 'loss.' Cf. l. 420.

L. 30. Cf. *P. L.* v. 542, 'O fall from *what* high state of bliss into *what* woe!' Cf. the Greek double οἶος, as in Soph. *Electra*, 751, οἱ ἔργα δολέσας οἷα λαγχάνει κακά, 'after *what* deeds *what* evils are his lot!'

L. 32. **Messiah.** See note on l. 4.

L. 34. **Full of grace and truth.** John i. 14.

L. 36. Acts i. 6. 'Lord, dost thou *at this time* restore the kingdom to Israel?'

L. 38. **Amaze.** Cf. *Nat. Hymn*, 69, 'the stars with deep *amaze*.' Chapman, *Il.*, v. 255, 'I entertain *amaze*?' i.e. 'am I afraid?' Cf. i. 37, n. 'Amaze' here = 'perturbation;' so πτόησις is rendered 'amazement' in 1 Peter iii. 6 (K). Cf. i. 107, *Sonnet* xvi. 1, 'Fairfax, whose name in arms . . . fills all her jealous monarchs with *amaze*;' *Hamlet*, iii. 4, 'But look! *amazement* on thy mother sits;' also Mark xiv. 33, 'he began to be sore *amazed*.'

L. 40. **Rapt** = 'snatched away,' Lat. *raptus*. Cf. *P. L.* iii. 522, '*rapt* in a chariot drawn by fiery steeds;' Ode, *In Obitum Præsulis Eliensis*, 'Vates ut olim *raptus* ad cœlum senex.' Hence 'rapt' came to mean 'transported with joy,' as in *Il Penseroso*, 40, 'thy *rapt* soul sitting in thine eyes.' So the verb 'to rape' in Dryden, *Ecl.* v. 60, 'to *rape* the fields with touches of her string.'

L. 44. Psalm ii. 2. In speaking of the Roman tyranny as administered by Herod, Milton probably alludes to the situation of his own party after the Restoration.

L. 45. **Highth.** See note on i. 13.

L. 46. **Behind them cast.** Cf. Nehemiah ix. 26; Psalm l. 17.

L. 51. Dunster suggested 'pointed *out*' for 'pointed *at*,' the latter being generally used in an opprobrious sense. But he compares the Latin *digito monstrari* (Hor. *Od.* iv. 3. 32; Pers. *Sat.* i. 28) as a mark of fame. Cf. δακτυλόδεικτον, Æsch. *Agam.* 1332.

L. 54. Cf. 1 Pet. v. 7, 'Casting all your care upon him.'

L. 56. Cf. l. 13. 'His sight' = 'sight *of him*,' not, as it would usually mean, 'his faculty of seeing others.'

Ll. 58-104. *Mary gives vent to her maternal anxiety; she recalls the circumstances of her son's birth and of his early life, the recent attestation at his baptism, and the predictions of Simeon concerning him and herself; resolving to wait patiently for the fulfilment.*

L. 59. **To find whom, &c.**: the antecedent omitted, as often in Latin. See i. 262, n., and cf. *P. L.* ii. 27, iii. 631, vi. 41.

L. 60. The construction is 'But to his mother Mary . . . motherly cares and fears got head' (l. 64). The length of the intervening clauses involves the sentence; in Latin it would be clearer—e.g. *At matri Mariæ, videnti . . . quum neque filius rediisset, &c., imo pectore . . . curæ maternæ oboriebantur.*

Ll. 61, 62. The rime of 'son' to 'none' should have been avoided in blank verse. Cf. iv. 73, 74; 613, 614. Still less to be imitated is the recurrence of the same syllable as 'repaired' and 'impaired,' in iv. 591, 592.

L. 65. **In sighs thus clad.** Cf. *Vacation Exercise*, 32, 'clothe my fancy in fit sound;' and the Latin metaphorical use of *vestire*, as in Cic. *de Claris Oratoribus*, 274, 'sententias reconditas exquisitasque mollis et pellucens vestiebat oratio' (*D.*)


L. 66. For the opinion that Mary's speech in the First Book would have been better introduced here, see Introduction, p. xxxi.

L. 70. **Fears as eminent, &c.** i.e. 'as I could otherwise have experienced, *yea even* above the lot of other women.' So l. 92.

L. 72. Cf. *Nativity Hymn*, l. 1, 'It was the winter wild,' &c. Besides the inclemency of the season, there was the want of accommodation, owing to the crowd collected at Bethlehem (Luke ii. 7).

L. 74. **Warmth** = 'shelter.' So the Greek *θαλαπωρή* (*K.*) In Homer, *Il.* vi. 410, Andromache cries to Hector, οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ ἄλλη ἔσται θαλαπωρή, ἐπεὶ ἂν σύ γε πότμον ἐπίσπης, i.e. 'when thou art gone, I shall have no *shelter* but the grave.'

L. 75. **Enforced**, sc. 'we were.' See i. 388, n. 'Enforced' here = 'forced.' Cf. Spenser, *F. Q.* II. iv. 32, 'rage *enforst* my flight.' We now use 'enforce' only = 'put in force,' as 'enforce a rule.' The original meaning is 'to put force *into*,' hence 'compel,' 'lay stress upon,' &c.

L. 77. **Missing** = 'failing' (intrans.) Cf. Spenser, *F. Q.* III. ix. 2, 'what wonder then if one of women all did *miss*?' 

L. 79. **Returned**, i.e. 'when we returned,' to be supplied from 'our' in the next line. Cf. the Latin construction, '*nostros vidisti flentis ocellos*,' Ovid, *Heroides*, v. 45, i.e. 'the eyes of me weeping.' So in *P. L.* v. 89, 'wondering at my flight . . . my guide was gone;' *ib.* x. 368, 'our liberty, confined within hell-gates.' See l. 216, n. **In Nazareth, &c.** Matt. ii. 23. But from Luke i. 26, ii. 4, we gather that Joseph and Mary had originally dwelt in Nazareth, whence they had gone up to Bethlehem. Cf. lli. 232, 'Thy life hath yet been private,' &c.

L. 81. **Unactive**, now *inactive*. So 'unexpressive,' *Lycidas*, 176, *Nat. Hymn*, 116; 'ingrateful' in *P. L.* v. 407, 'unpossible,' 'unperfect,' &c. in Shakspeare. See note on *Lycidas*, 64, where the editions vary between 'incessant' and 'uncessant.' Dunster sees an allusion to Milton's retired life after the Restoration.

L. 82. For the scanning, see Introduction, p. xlii.

L. 83. **Full-grown** = 'he being full-grown,' an imitation of the Latin ablative absolute. See i. 373, n. **To man** = 'to manhood,' concrete for abstract noun. So ἐκ παίδων, *a pueris*, 'from childhood.'

L. 88. Luke ii. 34, where our version has 'for the fall.' 'To' = *for* in Luke iii. 8. Cf. *Pilgrim's Progress*, 'he hath a pretty young man *to* his son;' Bacon, *Essay, Of Plantations*, 'Let the main part of the ground . . . be *to* a common stock.'

Ll. 93, 94. Thyer notes the consistency of these lines with Mary's character (l. 63), exhibiting "composed resignation," varied for a moment by the "sudden start of fond impatience" in the exclamation 'where delays he now,' which is instantly checked in the words 'some great intent conceals him.'

L. 94. **Argue**, like *arguere*, is to 'find fault with;' properly 'to refute an opponent by proving him to be in the wrong.' Elsewhere Milton uses 'argue' only in the usual sense of 'prove' or 'discuss.' See note on **Argument**, i. 172.

L. 95. **Intent** = 'intention.' See l. 38, n.

L. 97. **So**, 'under such circumstances,' i.e. in the temple with the doctors. **As** = 'that;' a common Elizabethan usage. Cf. *P. L.* iii. 638, where 'such *as*' = 'such *that*.'

L. 98. **Lose himself**, a play upon words (*K*). Cf. *P. L.* iv. 188, 'At one slight *bound* high overleapt all *bound*;' also v. 869, '*beseeking* or *besieging*.' The passage in *P. L.* vi. 560, 610, &c., where Belial and Satan indulge in mutual pleasantry upon the success of their newly invented artillery, is a series of puns. See

also the two epitaphs on Hobson, the Cambridge carrier. Milton's good taste in this matter may be questioned; yet those who do so should at least bear in mind the circumstances under which Lady Macbeth is made to say—

'If he do bleed,  
I'll *gild* the faces of the grooms withal;  
For it must seem their *guilt* ;'

also the moving cause of King Henry's address to his son, containing the line 'England shall *double gild* his *treble guilt*' (2 *Hen. IV.* iv. 5).

L. 99. Luke ii. 49. **Mused**, 'pondered.' Cf. i. 185, and see Glossary.

L. 101. **Obscures**, 'keeps unexplained' (Masson); lit. 'keeps dark' or 'veils' the reason of his absence.

L. 102. **Inured**. See Glossary.

L. 103. **Storehouse, &c.** Cf. *συνετήρει, διετήρει*, in Luke ii. 19, 51.

II. 105-146. *Jesus continues in the desert. Satan again meets his infernal council, reports the ill-success of his last enterprise, and calls upon them for counsel and assistance.*

L. 107. **Since her salutation heard**. See i. 3, n.

L. 109. **The while**. See **Erewhile** in Glossary. **Tracing** = 'traversing' or 'tracking.' Cf. *Comus*, 423; Spenser, *F. Q.* iv. 10, 7, '*tracing* and traversing now here now there;' Shaksp. *Mids. N. Dr.* ii. 1, 'to *trace* the forests wild;' *Pilgr. Progress*, Part II.: 'He would be up every morning by break of day *tracing* and walking to and fro.'

L. 110. **Sole**. See i. 100, n., and cf. *Passionate Pilgrim*, 18, 2, 'the *sole* (i.e. 'lonely') Arabian tree.'

L. 111. **Into himself descended**. Cf. Persius, *Sat.* iv. 23, where *in sese descendere* appears to mean 'to descend into the recesses of the mind' for self-examination (*N.*) But it may there be a metaphor from 'descending' into the arena before a combat ('in campum descendere').

L. 114. **End of being on earth**. Cf. i. 185, &c.

L. 115. **Sly preface**. In i. 483, Satan had feigned an intention of returning, to profit by our Lord's discourse. 'Preface' here literally something *said beforehand* (from *præ-fari*), to prepare Jesus to expect him

L. 116. **Vacant** = 'alone,' lit. 'void' of company, from *vacare*, 'to be at leisure.' Goldsmith, *Vicar of Wakefield*, ch. v. has '*vacant* hilarity' = mirth after the day's work is done.

L. 117. **Region of thick air.** See i. 39, 44, n.

L. 119. Dunster contrasts Satan's triumphant return to Pandemonium after his success over Eve, *P. L.* x. 460, &c.

Ll. 121-128. The sense probably is 'ye who were once princes in heaven, &c., but are now Demonian spirits, rightlier called powers of fire &c., each from the element which it is given him to rule, *I wish indeed* we may retain this our dominion; *but I fear the result*, for such an enemy has arisen to oppose us,' &c. Prof. Masson takes 'rightlier called' with 'Demonian spirits,' repeating them with 'powers of fire,' &c.; which seems an unnecessary and somewhat violent transposition. He also paraphrases 'so may we hold,' &c. by '*if it may so be that* we shall hold,' &c.; admitting, however, that the words may be taken as the expression of a *wish*. The phrase 'so may,' &c. looks like a translation of the Latin votive formula introduced by *sic*, as in Hor. *Od.* l. iii. 1, Virg. *Ecl.* x. 4. (See *Lycidas*, 19, n.) This expression, originally a vow made to a deity *on condition* of the prayer being granted, became a common formula of invocation, the condition being omitted and often not even implied. **Ethereal thrones** = 'heavenly Potentates.' The Demons of the four elements are again mentioned in iv. 201. The general doctrine that no part of the universe is devoid of soul, is propounded by Plato himself in the *Timæus* and elsewhere; but the idea of assigning particular demons to their respective elements is due to the so-called Platonists of later times. Add to this the early Christian belief, which identified the fallen angels with the aforesaid demons (i. 44, n.), and we have most of the information necessary for understanding the allusions to them in *Milton*. They were supposed not only to inhabit their elements, but to control them and to partake of their nature. Cf. *Il Penseroso*, ll. 93-96. The whole system is minutely set forth in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, part i. sect. 2.

L. 125. **Mild seats** = 'peaceful abodes;' Lat. *sedes placidas*.

L. 126. **Such . . . who.** As *such* (A.-S. *swiðe*) meant 'so-like,' *which* meaning 'what-like,' naturally followed it. Hence other relational words, as *who*, *that*, &c., took the same construction (Abbott, *Sh. Gram.* §§ 278, 279); just as *talis* and *totius* were followed by *qui* and *us*, instead of by *qualis* and *otius*. After-



wards 'such as' took the place of 'such which' or 'such who.' Cf. Chaucer, *Prologue*, l. 3, 'in *swich* licour, of *which*,' &c.; Shaksp. *Jul. Cæsar*, i. 3, '*such* a man *that* is no fleeing tell-tale.'

L. 130. **Consenting** = 'unanimous,' Lat. *consentiente suffragio*. **With** in the preceding line = 'by' (K.) **Full frequency**. Cf. i. 128, n.

L. 131. **Tasted** = 'tried,' as in *S. A.* 1091, Psalm xxxiv. 8; Chapman, *Odyssey*, xxi. 124, 'began to *taste* the bow' (τόξου πειρήτιζεν). Shaksp. *1 Hen. IV.* iv. 1, 'let me *taste* my horse.' Todd quotes from an old translation of Boccaccio, 'he began to *taste* (i.e. 'feel') his pulse.' So γεύσασθαι, as in *Hom. Il.* xx. 258 (of combatants) γεύσασθε ἀλλήλων. See Glossary.

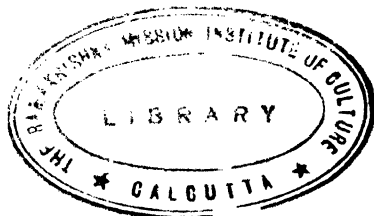
L. 136. In the first edition this line is a continuous sentence, meaning that after the trial he had made of Jesus, Satan questions if he be man *even* by the mother's side (N.) But the punctuation in the text (proposed by Dunster) seems preferable. Prof. Masson paraphrases the passage thus:—'Though it required his wife's allurements to make even Adam fall, however inferior he be to this man; who, if he be man by the mother's side, is at least adorned from heaven with more than human gifts.'

L. 138. **Absolute**, Lat. *absolutus* = 'complete' or 'finished.' Cf. *P. L.* viii. 547; Shaksp. *Rape of Lucrece*, 853, 'No perfection is so *absolute*;' *Hamlet*, v. 2, 'an *absolute* gentleman.' Cicero, *de Finibus*, ii. 27, has 'vita confecta atque *absoluta*.'

L. 139. **Amplitude of mind**, 'amplitudinem animi,' Cic. *Tusc.* ii. 25. So 'vir amplissimus' as a title of honour. **To** = 'adapted to,' like Lat. *ad*, as in Terence, *Andria*, III. ii. 2, 'quæ oportet esse *ad* salutem.'

LL. 140-146. Contrast Satan's confident tone in i. 100, &c. There he had asked for no 'counsel,' but only for a commission.

L. 142. **Ye**, for 'you,' also common in Shakspere ('I do beseech ye,' 'I hate ye,' &c.), but not in the Bible. The A.-S. nom. was *ge*, the objective *eow*, whence 'ye' and 'you' respectively, and the distinction was at first strictly observed.



Ll. 147-240. *Belial proposes to tempt Jesus with women. Satan rebukes him as one who judges others by himself, charging upon him all the amours which the heathen poets had ascribed to their gods. Many men have been proof against the charms of female beauty: how much more the Son of God;—he will set before Jesus nobler objects than these. Then, taking with him a chosen band of spirits, Satan returns to the wilderness.*

L. 150. **Belial.** See *P. L.* i. 490. His character is 'soft, effeminate, and persuasive. He was not a local god, but ruled wherever atheism and profligacy were found' (Masson). His name means 'wickedness,' whence bad men are termed 'sons of Belial' (Deut. xiii. 13; 1 Sam. ii. 12). **Dissolutes.** Cf. 'exquisitest,' l. 346, 'famousest,' *S. A.* 982, 'virtuousest,' *P. L.* viii. 550, 'ancienter' in the *Areopagitica*. Fuller has 'eminentest,' 'eloquentier,' 'solemnest,' &c. Old English comparisons were always made in *-er* and *-est*; the use of 'more' and 'most' came in about the thirteenth century, and is probably due to French influence. (Morris, *Hist. Outlines*, § 110.)

L. 151. **Asmodai** = Asmodeus, in Tobit iii. 8. Cf. *P. L.* iv. 168, vi. 365. In the Rabbinical writings he is said to be the king of the Shedem, or demons (A.).

L. 152. **Incubus.** Some of the ejected angels were believed not to have fallen into hell, but to have remained in 'the middle region of air' (l. 117), where in various shapes they tempt men to sin. It was said that they hoped to counteract the effect of Christ's coming by engendering with some virgin a semi-demon, who should be a power of evil. In this way Merlin, and even Luther, were reported to have been begotten.

L. 153. As this temptation is not mentioned in the Gospels, it is fitly made the subject of debate, and not actually offered. The arguments for and against the power of beauty are here urged with the utmost force and eloquence (N.).

L. 155. **Passing fair.** Cf. *Rom. and Jul.* i. 2, 'a mistress that is *passing fair*;' North's *Plutarch*, 'such *passing* sumptuous fare.' Chapman has 'passing close,' 'passing lately,' &c. '*Passing*' is here an adverb = 'passingly' or 'exceedingly.'

L. 158. **Tongues,** in a sort of loose apposition to the 'women'

who are the real subject of the sentence. So in *Lycidas*, 119, the shepherds are called 'blind mouths.' See note there.

L. 159. **Mild and sweet**, adj. for noun, a common Elizabethan usage (Abbott, *Sh. Gram.* § 5). Cf. l. 168, n.; *P. L.* ii. 97; also Hor. *Ars. P.* 343, 'miscuit *utile dulci*.' For the sentiment, cf. *P. L.* ix. 490, 'not terrible, though terror be in love and beauty' (*D.*); *Solomon's Song*, vi. 4, 'thou art *beautiful*, O my love, *terrible* as an army with banners' (*K.*)

L. 160. **Allayed**, 'softened,' 'tempered.' Cf. Gray, *Bard*, 117, 'Her lion port, her awe-commanding face, *attempered* sweet to virgin grace.' See Glossary.

L. 162. Cf. *P. L.* xi. 586, also *Elgy*, i. 60, 'Aurea quæ fallax *retia* tendit amor.' The simile is very common.

L. 164. **Smooth, &c.** Cf. *Il Penseroso*, 58; Hor. *Od.* iii. 29, 16, 'sollicitam *explicuere frontem*;' *Sat.* ii. 2, 125, '*explicuit* vino contractæ seria *frontis*.'

L. 165. **Nerve** = 'enervate,' but is formed directly from the Latin adj. *enervis*. [Observe that *unnerve* is a different formation, being a compound of *un-* and the English verb 'to *nerve*.' The latter is really a noun used as a verb, of which so many instances occur in Shakspeare and his contemporaries. (See Abbott, *Shaksp. Gram.* § 290.)]

L. 166. **Draw out**, a metaphor for enticing an animal from his lurking-place by a bait. Cf. Terence, *Andria*, iv. 1, 'nisi me . . . falsa spe *produceres*.' **Credulous** (as Dunster suggested) may be a reminiscence of the line 'Qui nunc te fruitur *credulus* aurea' in the Ode of Horace (iv. 9), which Milton himself translated.

L. 168. **The magnetic** = 'the magnet.' See on l. 159; and cf. 'the *Celtic*,' *P. L.* i. 521; 'the vast *abrupt*,' ii. 409; 'this *profound*,' *ib.* 980; 'the *stony*,' xi. 4, &c. Chapman, *Iliad*, xi. 638, has 'the sacred *clear*' (= 'space'). For the simile Calton quotes from Lucian's *Imagines* ἀπάξει σε ἀναδησαμένη ἔρθα ἄν ἐθέλῃ, ὅπερ καὶ ἡ λίθος ἢ Ἡρακλεία δρᾷ τὸν σίδηρον. Cf. Shakspeare, *Mids. N. Dr.* ii. 2, 'You *draw* me, you hard-hearted *adamant*.'

L. 170. **Build**, i.e. temples for Chemosh, Moloch and other 'strange gods,' which his wives worshipped (1 Kings xi. 7, 8). Cf. *P. L.* i. 442.

L. 171. For the scanning, see Introduction, p. xlii., and cf. l. 180.

L. 173. **Much** = 'very,' like the Spanish *mucho*, and Italian *molto* (*K.*) 'Much' was used (1) with positive adjectives, as

'I am *much* ill,' Shaksp. *2 Hen. IV.* iv. 4; (2) as an adjective, as 'thv *much* goodness,' *Measure for Measure*, v. 1; 'their *much* speaking,' Matt. vi. 7. South in a sermon has 'it is *much* another thing.'

L. 175. **Doat'st**, probably for 'doatedst;' some editions read *doat'st*. So 'slep'st' for 'slept'st,' *P. L.* xi. 369. In Shakspere we find *-ts* for *-t'st*, as 'revisits,' 'requests,' &c.

L. 176. **Attractive grace.** Cf. *P. L.* ii. 762; iv. 298.

L. 177. **Toys** = 'trifles,' as in l. 223; *Il Pens.* l. 4. Cf. *1 Hen. IV.* iv. 1, 'a *toy*, a thing of no regard;' Bacon, *Essay* lviii. 'a *toy* which I have heard,' i.e. a fanciful story. So Foxe speaks of popish rites as '*toyish* gauds.' See Glossary.

L. 178. **Lusty** here = 'lustful' rather than 'strong.' So possible in the *Nativity Hymn*, l. 36:—

'To *wanton* with the sun, her *lusty* paramour.'

L. 179. Milton here avails himself of the idea, that the 'sons of God' Gen. vi. 2. were the fallen angels; in *P. L.* xi. 621, &c. he more properly identifies them with the descendants of Seth (*N.*)

L. 182. **Or by relation heard.** Cf. l. 215. The poet has been blamed for speaking in his own person rather than in that of Satan. Rather he is true to his own conceptions of spiritual beings, who are represented as subject to laws similar to those which govern mankind; and though endowed with superior knowledge and power of locomotion, yet as neither omniscient nor ubiquitous. So in iv. 116 Jesus is made to say:—

'For I have also *heard*, perhaps have *read*. &c.'

L. 183. Cf. *P. L.* i. 497, where it is said of Belial:—

'In courts and palaces he also reigns.'

L. 186. **Callisto, &c.** All these are to be found in Ovid, who was Milton's favourite Latin poet, as appears from his imitations of him in his juvenile poems (*D.*) Speaking of his early studies (*Apology for Smectymnus*) he mentions 'the smooth elegiac poets' as claiming his special attention. The learned enumeration of names which follows is quite after Ovid's manner. Cf. *Farti*, ii. 39; iii. 81; iv. 467, &c. The several references are, **Callisto**, beloved by Jupiter, *Met.* ii. 409; **Clymene**, mother of Phaethon, *ib.* i. 757; **Daphne**, Apollo's first love, *ib.* i. 452; **Emele**, mother of Dionysus, *ib.* iii. 253; **Antiope**, daughter of Nycteus, *ib.* vi. 110; **Syrinx**, beloved by Pan, *ib.* i.

110; **Amymone**, beloved by Neptune, *Amores*, i. 10, 5; also Eur. *Phæn.* 188.

L. 188. **Tob long**. Cf. *P. L.* iii. 473. The ellipse is supplied in *P. L.* i. 507, 'long to tell.' Against Newton's objection to the following lines, Dunster replies, that a '*divine* poem,' like any other, must not be destitute of ornament; that mythological allusions are among the acknowledged decorations of poetry, and that Milton has shown great taste in his selection and application of them; moreover, that by transferring these amours of the gods to the fallen angels he adds a moral to his poem. All this may be true; but it would be enough to say that, having once identified the heathen gods with the fallen angels, he simply carries out this assumption in detail. It is surely unreasonable to admit the general proposition, and yet object to the enumeration of particulars.

L. 189. **Scapes**, i.e. 'lewd acts,' now called *escapades* from the French. This, with its collateral form *échappée*, signifies 'a prank' or 'frolic.' Cf. *Winter's Tale*, iii. 3, where the shepherd finding a child exposed exclaims, 'A very pretty barne! sure some *scapes*,' &c.; *Rape of Lucrece*, 747, 'For day (quoth she) nights *scapes* doth open lay.' So in North's *Plutarch*, '*scapes* committed by negligence.' Hence the compounds 'scapethrift' and 'scapegrace.' For derivation see Glossary.

L. 190. Justin Martyr, in his *Apologia*, mentions the notion that the heathen gods were demons, the offspring of angels and mortal women. The Septuagint version of Psalm xvi. 5 has δαιμόνια for 'idols.' See i. 430, n.

L. 191. **Silvan** = Silvanus, as in *Comus*, 267; *Il Penseroso*, 134. The Satyrs were Greek, Faunus and Silvanus were Italian deities of the woods. Cf. *Lycidas*, 34. For this mixture of Greek and Italian mythology, Milton had the authority of Ovid (*Fasti*, ii. 269, 423, and elsewhere).

L. 196. **Pelleas**, from Pella in Macedonia, where Alexander the Great was born. Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* x. 168, 'Unus *Pellæo juveni* non sufficit orbis.' He was only twenty-three when he conquered the Persians at Issus, B.C. 333; his generous conduct to the wife and mother of Darius and other Persian ladies is well known.

L. 198. **Slightly** = 'slightingly,' from the verb 'to slight'; i.e. 'not caring for them.' This statement is hardly true, since it was part of Alexander's policy to take a wife from the several nations whom he conquered in his Eastern campaigns. Thus he

married Roxana, a beautiful Bactrian (B.C. 327), Statira, daughter of Darius III., and Barsine, the widow of Memnon the Rhodian.

L. 199. Scipio Africanus, at the age of twenty-five, restored a young Spanish lady to her betrothed husband after the capture of New Carthage, B.C. 210. (Livy, xxvi. 50.)

L. 201. **Solomon he, &c.** The insertion of the pronoun emphasises the subject of the sentence. Cf. *Richard III.* iii. 7, 'God *he* knows;' 1 *Hen. IV.* iii. 2, 'the skipping king *he* ambled up and down;' Judges iv. 4, 'Deborah . . . *she* judged Israel.'

L. 204. **The bait, &c.** Cf. Spenser, *P. Q.* v. 8, 1, 'beauty's lovely *bait*.'

L. 205. **Attempt** = 'try,' or 'assail,' as in *P. L.* ix. 1149. Cf. Tennyson's *Vivien*, l. 20, 'Vivien should *attempt* the blameless king.' So in Latin *attentare*, as 'adversarios, inimicos *attentare*,' Cic. in *Verrem*, ii. 54.

L. 207. See i. 215, &c. **Made and set on** = 'made *for* and set on.'

L. 210. **His leisure** = 'he when at leisure.' So in *P. L.* vi. 355, 'the *might* of Gabriel' for 'Gabriel the mighty.' Cf. βίη 'ἱρακληεῖν, σθένος Ἐκτορος, &c. in Homer. **Vouchsafe**; one of the few instances of the word being thus spelt in the first edition. See l. 16, n.

L. 211. **Fond**, properly = 'doting,' being the past participle of an old verb *fonne*, 'to make foolish,' see my note on *Lycidas*, 56. *Fond Desire* is a character in a dialogue poem, written by the Earl of Oxford in Queen Elizabeth's time (*D.*)

L. 213. **Begirt**. See i. 120, n., and compare the similar passage in *P. L.* viii. 59, where it is said of Eve:—

'On her as queen  
A pomp of winning Graces waited still,  
And from about her shot darts of desire  
Into all eyes to wish her still in sight.'

L. 214. Homer (*Il.* xiv. 214, &c.) tells how Hera (Juno) borrowed the magic girdle (κεσθὼν ἱμάντα) of Aphrodite, to beguile the heart of Zeus.

L. 215. **No fables tell**. See note on l. 182.

L. 216. **His** = 'of him (seated, &c.)' See l. 79, n. But Keightley may be right in taking 'seated' in apposition with 'look.' For the 'brow' as the seat and symbol of majesty, cf. *P. L.* iv. 300; *Hamlet*, iii. 4, 'see what a grace was seated on this brow.'

L. 217. **Virtue's hill.** Cf. *Sonnet* iv. 4 :—

'That labour up the hill of heavenly truth.'

The allegory of Virtue dwelling on a steep hill became a favourite one with philosophers and poets, as in the *Tabula Cebetis*, the *Choice of Hercules*, &c. The original passage is probably Hesiod's *Works and Days*, 287, &c. quoted in the note on l. 478.

L. 218. **Discountenance**, lit. = 'put out of countenance,' 'abash' (l. 224). So Adam and Eve after the fall were '*discountenanced* both and discomposed,' *P. L.* x. 110. Observe the classical use of the participle 'despised' = 'despise and discountenance.'

L. 220. Cf. *Comus*, 451, 'noble grace that dashed rude violence with sudden adoration and *blank awe*.' **Stands**, i.e. 'keeps its force,' like the Latin *stare*. Dunster notes the fact that Milton did once in his youth write an amatory Latin Elegy, but apologised for it afterwards, as an act of weakness, in some lines added in 1645, when his early poems were published. (*Juvencius*, 68 n.)

L. 222. **Cease to admire, &c.** ; in allusion to the peacock, which is said to spread its tail when admired. Cf. Ovid, *Art. Amat.* i. 627 :—

'Laudatas ostentat avis Junonia pennas ;  
Si tacitus spectes, illa recondit opes.'—(D.)

L. 223. **Trivial toy.** Cf. *Comus*, 502 ; and see l. 177, n.

L. 228. **Wrecked**, intransitive, as in *S.A.* 1044, the only other instance of the word in Milton's poems.

L. 229. Cf. ll. 369, 370.

L. 232. **Wide**, misprinted 'wild' in most editions. Todd observes that the same mistake was made in *Comus*, 403. Cf. Keats, *Eve of St. Agnes*, 250, 'noiseless as fear in a *wide wilderness*.'

L. 234. **Assay.** Cf. i. 143, and see Glossary.

L. 235. **Heard their grant, &c.**, i.e. heard in their applause the sign of their granting him the commission.

L. 238. **At his beck.** Cf. *Hamlet*, iii. 'with more offences *at my beck* than I have thoughts to put them in.' For derivation, &c. see Glossary.

Ll. 239, 240, i.e. 'that in case several characters were needed to join in the action, each might know his part.' 'Scene,' 'persons' and 'part,' are used in their technical sense. Cf. *P. L.* x. 155, 'which was thy *part* and *person*,' i.e. 'character,' Lat. *persona*.

Ll. 241-298. *Jesus after his long fasting begins to hunger; yet he is content to resign himself to God's will. He lays him down to sleep, and passes the night dreaming. At daybreak he ascends a neighbouring hill, and sees beneath him a pleasant shady grove, which he enters.*

L. 242. **From shade to shade**, 'passing from one shelter to another.' Cf. *Tempest*, ii. 1 (First Folio reading), 'She that—*from* whom we all were sea-swallowed,' i.e. 'coming from whom.'

L. 244. **Now** = 'then,' i.e. after the forty days' fast (i. 309; Matt. iv. 2). *Now*, like *vñv* and *nunc*, may be used with past tenses of something immediately following.

L. 246. **Wandering this maze**. See i. 269, 331, 354, n.

Ll. 249-255. The argument is—'either nature may not feel need at all, *or*, though she may do so, God can satisfy her by other means than food. But my feeling of hunger tells me that the former alternative is not true, therefore the second remains.'

L. 255. **So** 'provided that' (Lat. *modo* for *modo ut*). The subjunctive 'remain' renders the insertion of 'that' unnecessary.

L. 258. **Fed**, &c. John iv. 34. Cf. *P. L.* iii. 37.

L. 261. **Communed**, i.e. 'with himself.' This is generally expressed, except when two or more persons are spoken of, as in *P. L.* ix. 201, 'Then *commune* how,' &c. (of Adam and Eve jointly).

L. 262. Dunster cites Hor. *Od.* ii. 3, 9:—

'Qua pinus ingens albaque populus  
*Umbram hospitalem* consociare amant;'

also Virg. *Georg.* iv. 24, 'Obviaque *hospitiis* teneat *frondentibus* arbos.' Cf. *Comus*, 186, 'the kind *hospitable* woods.' But Milton has here drawn largely on his imagination. The following description of the desert of Judæa by Mr. Hepworth Dixon (*Holy Land*, vol. i. ch. 23) may not be out of place:—'It is a dry unpeopled region, in which the wells are few, *the trees low and stunted*, the Wadies full of stones instead of water . . . It contains no town, not even a village. It has no road, no khan. The fox, the vulture, the hyena prowl about its solitudes.' Cf. i. 296, 310, 324.

L. 264, &c. So Lucretius (iv. 1018), in illustration of the fact that our dreams are haunted by our waking thoughts, says:—

'Flumen item sitiens aut fontem propter amœnum  
Ausidet, et totum prope faucibus occupat amnem.'



L. 266. **Methought.** See Glossary. **Brook of Cherith,** 1 Kings xvii. 5.

L. 270, &c. 1 Kings xix. 4-7.

L. 275. **Eat**, either the infinitive after 'bid,' Elijah having been twice bidden by the angel, or the past ind. = 'ate.' See i. 352, n.

L. 278. **At his pulse,** Daniel i. 12.

L. 279. **Herald**, always spelt 'harald' in the *Paradise Lost*, from the Italian *araldo*. For the lark as 'herald of the morn' Newton and others cite *Romeo and Juliet*, iii. 5; Browne's *Brit. Pastorals*, i. st. 3; Chaucer, *Knights Tale*, l. 1493; Spenser, *F. Q.* i. 11, 51, &c. Cf. *Comus*, 315; *I' Allegro*, 41.

L. 285. **Anon.** See i. 304, n. **Reared** = 'raised.' Cf. Coleridge, *Anc. Mar.* vii. 3, 'His sweet voice he *rears*.' Latimer, in one of his sermons, speaks of 'outrageous *rearing* of rents.'

L. 286. **To ken** = 'he might ken,' Lat. *cujus ex culmine prospiceret*. Cf. *P. L.* xi. 396; Herrick, *Noble Numbers* (of a distant view), 'I *ken* my home.' For etymology of *ken*, see Glossary. This passage is rather closely modelled upon Virg. *Æn.* i. 180, &c. :—

'Æneas *scopulum* interea *conscendit*, et omnem  
*Prospectum* late pelago petit, Anthea si quem  
Jactatum vento *videat*,' &c.

Ll. 287, 288. **If cottage, &c. But cottage, &c.** Milton is fond of this mode of repetition; cf. *Comus*, 221 :—

'Was I deceived, or *did a sable cloud*  
Turn forth her silver lining on the night?  
I did not err; there *does a sable cloud*,' &c.

Also *P. L.* iv. 641, 'Sweet is the *breath of morn*,' &c. (followed in l. 650 by 'But neither *breath of morn*,' &c. (*D.*))

L. 289. **Bottom**, a hollow between hills. Cf. *P. L.* vii. 289; *As You Like it*, iv. 3, 'in the neighbour *bottom*;' Zechariah i. 8, 'myrtle-trees in the *bottom*.' The word is common in local names, e.g. 'Hartley *bottom*,' near the source of the Thames in Gloucestershire. 'Bottom-glade' occurs in *Comus*, 532. The root is cognate with the Latin '**Fu(n)d-us**,' Greek *βυθ-ός*. **A pleasant grove, &c.** Cf. Spenser, *F. Q.* ii. 5, 31 :—

'And on the other side a pleasant grove;  
Therein the merry birds of every sort  
Chanted aloud their tuneful harmony.'

'This is a magical creation in the desert, designed as a scene suited

for the ensuing temptation of the banquet' (*D.*) The idea is borrowed from the Italian romances of Tasso, Ariosto, &c. who deal largely in magical transformations of this kind, e.g. Armida's banquet in Tasso, *Gier. Lib.* x. 63. Compare the description of Eden in *P. L.* iv. 131-153, 216-267.

L. 293. Milton is great in describing the effect of the thick shade of forest trees. In *P. L.* iv. 246 he represents the happy garden of Paradise as surrounded by an 'insuperable highth of loftiest shade,' while within 'the unpierced shade *imbrowned* the noontide bowers.' Of the bower of Adam and Eve, 'the *roof* of the thickest covert was in woven shade.' Cf. *Arcades*, 88; *Il Penseroso*, 133. **Alleys**, lit. places to *walk* in (from *aller*). Cf. *P. L.* iv. 626; *Comus*, 990. Bacon, in his *Essay On Gardens*, makes a great point of the due arrangement of alleys. **Brown** (Italian *bruno*) is a favourite word with Milton for 'dark.' Cf. *P. L.* iv. 246; iv. 1088; *Il Penseroso*, 133; *Lycidas*, 2. So Pope, *Eloisa to Abeldard*, 170, 'and breathes a *browner* horror on the woods.'

L. 295. **Nature taught art**, i.e. 'Nature instructed in art,' applying, as it were, the rules of art to her own purposes. So Spenser, *F. Q.* ii. 12, 59, says of the garden of Acrasia:—

'One would have thought (so cunningly the rude  
And scorned parts were mingled with the fine)  
That Nature had for wantonness ensued  
Art;'

i.e. '*followed* her rules' (cf. Psalm xxxiv. 14). Spenser proceeds to speak of a mutual rivalry between art and nature, resulting in the perfection of both; a conceit of which Milton does not here avail himself. Probably both poets were indebted to a passage in Tasso (*Gier. Lib.* xvi. 10) where Nature is said to 'imitate her own imitatress,' i.e. Art. It concludes thus:—

'Di natura arte par, che per diletto  
L'imitatrice sua scherzando imiti.'—(*D.*)

In the lines which Prof. Masson cites from the *Winter's Tale*, iv. 4, Nature is said to be herself the maker of the art by which her stores are increased. This is not quite the idea in the text, though it would suit another proposed reading,— 'nature-taught art,' i.e. 'art taught by nature.' Cf. also Spenser's *Muiopotmos*:—

'And Art with her contending doth aspire  
To excel the natural with made delight.'

L. 296. Cf. *P. L.* iv. 705.

LI. 298-403. *Satan, re-appearing in a different guise, affects to wonder that Jesus should have been so long deserted in the wilderness, where others had been miraculously fed. He then urges upon him his right to all created things, and producing by a stroke of magical art a sumptuous banquet, tempts him to sit down and eat. Jesus scornfully rejects the proffered dainties, whereupon the banquet suddenly vanishes.*

L. 299. Observe the change in the habit and demeanour of Satan, as compared with i. 314, to suit the altered character of the temptation (*N.*)

L. 302. **With granted leave.** Jesus had only said, 'I bid not or forbid' (i. 495). But the permission is 'from above,' having been given in accordance with God's own design expressed to Gabriel, in i. 140 (*D.*) **Officious**, i.e. 'ready to serve thee,' Lat. *officiosus*, as '*officiosa* sedulitas,' Hor. *Epist.* i. 7, 8. The word now means 'over zealous' or 'troublesome;' Trench, in his *Select Glossary*, quotes from Phillip's *New World of Worlds* a definition of *officious* as 'ready to do good offices, serviceable, obliging.' Bp. Hall, *Mystery of Godliness*, calls the angel who strengthened Jesus in Gethsemane an '*officious* spirit.'

L. 304. **Bide.** See i. 59, n. In Romans xi. 23 the original reading was 'if they *bide* not,' &c. afterwards altered to 'abide.'

L. 307. **This wilderness.** See i. 354, n. Where Hagar wandered was the wilderness of Beersheba (Gen. xxi. 14), and Elijah's retreat was a day's journey thence (1 Kings xix. 4). The Israelites were fed with manna in the wilderness of Sin (Exodus xvii.)

L. 309. **Nebaloth**, by license or oversight, stands for Ishmael his father (Gen. xxv. 13).

L. 312. **That prophet bold.** The character of Elijah, the undaunted opponent of tyrants and denouncer of God's judgments against them, had great attractions for Milton. Among the subjects he had proposed to himself for a Scriptural drama we find one entitled *Elias Polemistes* (*D.*)

L. 313. **Thebez**, a mistake for Tishbe in Gilead, the birth-place of Elijah (1 Kings xvii. 1). Cf. l. 16. Thebez was a town in Ephraim, where Abimelech was slain (Judges ix. 50).

L. 318. **I . . . have none.** See li. 258, 259, n.

L. 321. **Thereafter** = 'according,' as in Psalm xc. 15; cxi. 10 (Prayer Book); 'after our sins' in Litany. In *Comus*, 703, the Lady refuses the enchanter's cup with the words, 'None but such as are good men can give good things.' Cf. Prov. xxiii. 6.

L. 324. As in tempting Eve Satan had said 'all things [are] thine by gift,' *P. L.* ix. 539, so here (omitting 'by gift') he says to Jesus, 'hast thou not *right* to all created things?' He affects to recognise Jesus as the 'Son of God,' since he would otherwise have no such right; and our Lord properly replies (l. 380) by asserting his *power* to use or not use that right at his own pleasure.

L. 325. See note on iv. 166.

L. 326. '**To stay**,' after 'owe,' in the preceding line. For **owe**, see Glossary.

L. 329. Cf. l. 277 and reference to Daniel there quoted. 'Meats offered to idols' constituted the *defilement* there alluded to. See the rule which St. Paul lays down on this subject, 1 Cor. viii. ; x. 25-29.

L. 335. **Beseems**. See Glossary.

L. 337. **No dream**, in contrast to l. 264. Thyer observes that, though this temptation is not related in Scripture, it is well invented and in harmony with the surrounding circumstances; copious, but not encumbered with unnecessary details; fresh to the author's imagination, since there is no scene like it in the *Paradise Lost*. But see Introduction, p. xxxii. The Fathers thought that Jesus was tempted many times, and Origen even imagines him to have had a fresh temptation every day.

L. 340. **In regal mode**. So Virgil, describing the banquet-hall of Dido, says—

'At domus interior *regali* splendida *luxu*  
Instruitur, mediisque parant convivias tectis.'

*Æn.* i. 637.

So 'regifico *luxu*,' *Æn.* vi. 604.

L. 342. **Beasts of chase**. Cf. *P. L.* iv. 341, 'beasts . . . of all chase.' '*Of* chase' = 'adapted for the chase,' the gen. being equivalent to a qualifying adjective. So 'fish *of* shell or fin,' l. 345; 'winds *of* gentlest gale,' l. 363; 'gust *of* rugged wings,' *Lycidas*, 93. Similarly 'fowl *of* game' = 'game-fowl,' whence the term 'game' was transferred from the sport to the produce of the chase.

L. 343. **In pastry built**. The confectioner's art in the fourteenth and following centuries was carried to excess. Solid

devices in pastry, worked up with sugar and wax, and representing scenes real and allegorical, were introduced upon every grand occasion. These were known as *subtillies*, and the artists who designed them as *waferers*. At the coronation of Henry VI. 'warriors and knights, castles and towers, rose on the royal board like a fairy scene ;' and as a warning to the Lollards, who had been troublesome of late, a 'subtilty' was shown, representing the king kneeling before Sigismund, the emperor of Germany, and the late King Henry V., in full armour, with a 'legend,' setting forth the intention of the new monarch to emulate the zeal of those princes in rooting out that detestable heresy. (*Our English Home*, 1861, pp. 70, 71.) Dunster mentions 'the pie in which Geoffrey Hudson, afterwards King James' dwarf, was served up at an entertainment given by the Duke of Buckingham.' See Scott's *Peveril of the Peak*. In the *Tempest*, v. 1, Prospero says of Gonzalo, 'You do yet taste some *subtillies* of the isle.'

L. 344. **Gris-amber**, i.e. 'ambergris' or grey amber, was used as a perfume in old English cookery. It is an animal substance, found floating on the sea, or thrown up on the shore, and yields a peculiar scent when heated. An old lady told Peck the antiquary that it melted like butter, and was used on great occasions to fume meat with, whether boiled, roasted, or baked.' Wines were flavoured with it ; cf. Fletcher, *Custom of the Country*, iii. 2 :—

'Be sure the wines be lusty, high, and full of spirit,  
And *ambered* all.'—(N.)

In Massinger's *City Madam* 'pheasants drenched with ambergris' are mentioned. Another (corrupted) spelling was *ambergrease*.

L. 345. **Freshet** = 'a little stream of fresh water,' from the subst. *fresh*, and the Romance diminutive ending *-et* (as in 'circlet, &c.') Cf. Browne, *Brit. Past.* ii. St. 3, 'Now love the *freshet*, and then love the sea.' *Fresh*, as a noun, occurs in the *Tempest*, iii. 2, 'I'll not shew him where the quick *freshes* are.' In Lowland Sc. *fresh* is 'a slight flood in a river' (Jamieson). **Of shell or tin**. See l. 342, n.

L. 346. **Exquisitest**. See l. 150, n. Warburton sees an allusion to the Roman custom of giving curious *names* to certain delicacies, e.g. a fish they called 'cerebrum Jovis,' &c. 'This may be ; but 'name' may = 'kind,' or 'fish of exquisite *name*' may simply = 'exquisite fish.' So *nomen* and *ὄνομα*, as 'infaustum Allia *nomen*' (Virg. *Æn.* viii. 717) = 'infausta Allia ;' *ὄνομα Πολυνεΐου* (Eur. *Phæn.* 1702) = *Πολυνεΐης*. Cf. l. 448.

L. 347. **Pontus**, the Euxine Sea, famed for the excellence of its fish (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ix. 15). The **Lucrine bay**, a salt lagoon near Baiæ, was celebrated for oysters, hence called 'Lucrina.' Cf. Hor. *Epod.* ii. 49; Martial, iii. 9. 3. The **Afric coast** supplied abundance of fish to the Roman market. Athenæus tells an anecdote of Apicius, a Roman glutton, who made a voyage thither for the sole purpose of tasting a particular kind of lobster (*D.*)

L. 349. **Cates**. See Glossary. **Diverted**, 'led astray' (Lat. *divertere*). Cf. Chapman, *Iliad*, xxiii. 47, 'our *diverted* men,' i.e. turned aside from their duty.

L. 350. Keightley is mistaken in saying that the 'side-board' was unknown to the ancients. *Abaci* are mentioned by Cicero, Pliny, &c., and were used for the display of plate at banquets. Cicero accuses Verres of having carried off a set of plate from the side-board of one Diocles ('*abaci* vasa omnia, ut exposita fuerant, abstulit'). See Becker's *Gallus*, 1st Ed., p. 23, note.

L. 351. Wines were prized by the ancients for their 'bouquet'; cf. Homer, *Od.* ix. 210; Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 201, &c. Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 807, mentions a choice wine called *ἀρωματίας*, 'redolent of flowers'; and in the *Acharnians*, 197, commends certain samples as 'smelling of ambrosia and nectar.' From a fragment of Hermippus, we learn that there was a wine called *Supria*, having a 'divine odour of violets, roses and hyacinths' (*D.*) Wines were also perfumed with unguents (Juv. *Sat.* vi. 303; Plaut. *Mil. Gl.* iii. 2. 11).

L. 352. Cf. Hor. *Od.* i. 29. 7:—

'Puer quis ex aula capillis  
Ad cyathum statuatur unctis?'

L. 353. **Ganymed**, the cup-bearer of Jupiter. **Hylas**, beloved by Hercules, and carried off by a nymph when he went to draw water at her fountain (Theocr. *Id.* xiii.; Virg. *Ecl.* vi. 43). Cf. Spenser, *F. Q.* iii. 12. 7:—

'that imp of Troy,  
Whom Jove did love, and chose his cup to bear;  
Or that same dainty lad, which was so dear  
To gre. t Alcides,' &c.

L. 355. **Diana's train**. So Eve is compared to a nymph of 'Delia's train,' *P. L.* ix. 387. Cf. Hom. *Od.* vi. 105; Virg. *Æn.* i. 498. The Naiades were water-nymphs; one of them, Amalthea, kept a she-goat, with whose milk she reared the infant Jupiter. A horn of this goat having been accidentally broken off, Amalthea filled it

with fruit and flowers, and offered it to the god, who endued it with perpetual fertility, making it the *Cornucopia*, or Horn of Plenty (Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 115). Milton probably alludes to another version of the story, which says that the Naiades consecrated the horn, after filling it with fruit and flowers (Ovid, *Met.* ix. 87).

L. 357. **Hesperides**, the three daughters of Hesperus, who kept a garden with golden fruit (*Comus*, 981). Here the name is applied to the garden itself, as in *Love's L. Lost*, iv. 3:—

‘For valour, is not Love a Hercules,  
Still climbing trees in the Hesperides?’

L. 358. **Fairer than feigned of old, &c.** The sense is clear, but there is a confusion of the two constructions, ‘fairer than *what has been* feigned about them in olden story or fabled in modern romances,’ &c., and ‘fairer than *those who* have been feigned of old, or than *those faery damsels who* have been fabled since,’ &c. Cf. *P. L.* v. 380.

Ll. 360, 361. See the *Morte d'Arthur*, translated and compiled from various French sources by Sir Thomas Malory, about 1470, and printed by Caxton in 1485. **Logres**, or Loegria (Milton's *Hist. of Britain*, b. i.), is England east of the Severn; the Welsh name for England is still *Lloegr*. **Lyones**, or Lyonesse, is supposed to have been a tract of land between Scilly and the Land's End, now submerged; though some identify it with St. Pol de Leon in Brittany. **Lancelot** of the Lake was the most renowned of King Arthur's knights; his guilty love for Queen Guinevere and its results are well known. **Pelleus**, the lover of Ettare, was ‘a worshipful knight, and one of the four that achieved the Sangreal.’ In *F. Q.* vi. 12. 39 he is a pursuer of the ‘blatant beast,’ after it had broken its chain. **Pellenore** of the isles was another valiant knight of the Round Table; he slew Lot, the king of Orkney, by whose son Gawaine he afterwards fell.

L. 363. **Of chiming strings or charming pipes.** Observe the alliteration. *Chime* is a clear ringing sound, as of bells. Cf. *Nativity Hymn*, 128; *P. L.* xi. 559. Here ‘chiming’ expresses the effect of strings, ‘charming’ the smoother notes of wind instruments. See **Charm** in Glossary.

L. 364. **Of gentlest gale.** See l. 342, n. Thyer cites *P. L.* iv. 156, 162.

L. 365. **Smells.** Cf. *P. L.* v. 126; *Comus*, 991. The fresh fragrance of the morning is a favourite theme with Milton, who was an early riser. See my note on *Lycidas*, 26.

L. 368. **What doubts, &c.** Cf. l. 377. *What* = 'why,' adverbial, like *ri* and *quid*; a common O. E. use of the word. Cf. *P. L.* ii. 329; Shaksp. *Ant. and Cleop.* v. 2, 'What should I stay?' *Jul. Caesar*, ii. 1, 'What need we any spur?'

L. 369. In contrast to 'the fruit of that forbidden tree' (*P. L.* i. 2) which caused Adam's fall. In *P. L.* v. 52 it is called 'the tree of *interdicted* knowledge.'

L. 370. **Defends** = 'forbids' (Fr. *défendre*). Cf. *P. L.* xi. 86, 'that *defended* fruit.' Fuller, *Church Hist.* Bk. xi., has 'God *defend*' = 'God forbid.' So 'attend,' from *attendre*, i. 53, where see note.

L. 374. Cf. *Tempest*, v. 1:—'Elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes and groves' (*D.*), from Golding's Ovid, *Met.* vii. 197, &c.

L. 379. See l. 324, n. 'The right of the Son of God being grounded on his power, his power must needs be fully adequate to his right' (Calton).

L. 382. **Likes me.** Cf. *P. L.* vi. 353, 'as *likes them* best; Deut. xxiii. 16. *Me* is the dative, as in *me seems, methinks*, &c. (see l. 266, n); and *like* (A.-S. *ge-lician*; Gothic, *leikan*) meant 'to please'; e.g. 'that *liketh* mine herte,' in *Piers Plowman*, v. 112. So 'well-liking,' as in Psalm xcii. 14 (P. B.)

L. 384. Psalm lxxviii. 19.

L. 385. Cf. *Hamlet*, v. 6, 'And flights of angels sing thee to thy rest'; also Hebrews i. 14. In *Comus*, 453, it is said of the chaste soul, 'A thousand liveried angels lackey her.' There is also an allusion to the Latin phrase, *ministrare poculum*, used of cupbearers. Cf. *P. L.* v. 443.

L. 387. **Obtrude, &c.** Satan is here taxed with being 'officious,' in the modern sense of the word. See l. 303, n.

L. 390. From Soph. *Ajax*, 675, ἐχθρῶν ἄδωρα δῶρα κοῦκ ὀνήσιμα, with a reminiscence also of Virg. *Æn.* ii. 49, 'aut ulla putatis *Dona* carere *dolis* Danaum.'

L. 394. **Voluntary**, adjective for adverb. See i. 203, n. To the reason there given may be added the influence of the Latin usage, which substitutes for an adverb an adjective in apposition. A remarkable instance occurs in *P. L.* ii. 162, where 'inhabit lax' means 'dwell at large.'

L. 397. **Apparent**, 'manifest,' from *appareo*, as in *P. L.* x. 112. Cf. Numbers xii. 8, 'With him will I speak mouth to mouth, even *apparently*;' Shaksp. *Two G. of Verona*, v. 3, 'apparent hazard of his life.'



L. 399. **Suspect**, directly formed from *suspectus*. See i. 110, n.

L. 401. **Far-fet** = 'far-fetched,' as in Sidney's *Arcadia*, 'he told her a *far-fet* tale;' 'far-fet viands,' in Beaumont and Fletcher; 'Far-fetched from Alybe,' in Chapman, *Iliad*, ii. 764 = 'coming from afar.' For the two forms, *fet* and *felch*, see Glossary. For the *cæsura* after the fourth foot, cf. i. 75. Here it well expresses the suddenness of the action.

L. 402. From Virgil, *Æn.* iii. 225:—

'At subitæ horrifico lapsu de montibus adsunt Harpyiæ,' &c.

In the *Tempest*, iii. 3, Ariel 'enters like a harpy, claps his wings upon the table, and the banquet vanishes' (*N.*)

Ll. 404-486. *Satan, finding that Jesus is not to be assailed on the ground of appetite, tempts him again by offering riches as a means to power. Jesus replies that wealth without virtue is valueless, whereas virtuous men, though poor, have often achieved noblest deeds; that kingly power is fraught with danger and trouble; and that he alone is a true king who, having mastered his own passions, is the moral governor of his people.*

L. 404. **Impórtune**, thus accented only here and in *P. L.* x. 933, where it is a verb. Cf. *Measure for Measure*, i. 1, 'As time and our concerns shall *impórtune*;' Hall, *Satires*, i. 7. 7, and iii. 3. 14, has '*impórtune* prayer,' and 'an *impórtune* guest.' So also '*oppórtune*,' *Winter's Tale*, iv. 4. See i. 175, n.

L. 405. For the scanning, cf. i. 361.

L. 409. **For**, 'because of,' i.e. '*in spite of all* allurements will *not* yield.' Cf. *Nativity Hymn*, 73, '*for all the morning light.*' In the Burial Service we pray 'suffer us *not for* any pains of death to fall from thee.' See Abbott's *Sh. Gram* §§, 150, 154.

L. 410. Cf. i. 230, &c.

L. 413. **Unfriended**. Cf. *King Lear*, i. 1, '*unfriended*, new-adopted to our hate;' *Henry VIII.* ii. 1, 'not *friend*ed by his wish;' Spenser, *F. Q.* iv. 2. 7, 'Fortune *friends* the bold.' So '*witch*,' '*lated*,' for *bewitch*, *belated*, in Shakspeare; 'the *wilder*ed child,' for *bewilder*ed, *Lay of L. Minstrel*, iii. 188.

L. 414. Matt. xiii. 55, 'Is not this the carpenter's son?'

L. 416. **Hunger-bit**. Cf. Job xviii. 12. Nares quotes '*all hunger-bit*' from Vicars' *Virgil*, 1632. '*Hunger-starven*,' i.e. '*perishing of hunger*,' occurs in Hall's *Satires*, i. 1. 13. For '*bit*' = bitten, see i. 165, n.

L. 419. **Retinue**, probably accented *retinue*, as in *P. L.* 355.

L. 420. **Or at thy heels, &c.** sc. 'keep' from 'gain,' in

l. 419. An instance of *zeugma* see l. 29, n.

L. 421. Cf. Horace, *Epist.* i. 19. 37 :—

'Non ego ventosæ plebis suffragia venor  
Impensis carnarum.'

Also *Timon of Athens*, ii. 2, where the honest Flavius exclaims :—

'Who is not Timon's ? . . .  
Great Timon, noble, worthy. royal Timon !  
Ah, when the means are gone that buy his praise,  
The breath is gone whereof this praise is made ;  
Feast-won, fast-lost !' (*D.*)

L. 422. Calton compares the boast of Mammon to Sir Guyon  
in the *Faery Queene*, ii. 7. 11, beginning—

'dost thou not weet  
That money can thy wants at will supply ?'

Also cf. Hor. *Epist.* i. 6. 36, 'amicos Et genus et formam regina pecunia donat ;' Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 217, 'dat census honores, Census amicitias' (*D.*)

L. 433. Cf. *P. L.* xii. 358. Antipater, a man of great wealth, was made governor of Judea by Pompey, B.C. 61. Herod, who succeeded his father in B.C. 38, induced Mark Antony by promises of money to place him on the throne (Josephus, *Jewish Ant.* xiv. 26).

L. 427. Cf. Hor. *Epist.* i. 1. 153, 'quærenda pecunia primum est ;' and contrast Proverbs iv. 7, 'Wisdom is the principal thing, therefore get wisdom ;' also Eccles. vii. 12.

L. 429. See continuation of the passage of Spenser quoted on l. 422. The ancients identified the prince of hell with the god of riches ; hence Spenser places the 'delve of Mammon' close to the entrance of Hell (*F. Q.* ii. 7. 24). The probable fact is that corn, representing *wealth*, was thought to be sent up from the underworld by Pluto, the husband of Persephone, whose mother was Demeter, the Earth-goddess ; hence arose a confusion between Πλούτος and Πλούτων.

L. 430. **Amain.** See **Main** in Glossary.

L. 431. Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* i. 74, 'Probitas laudatur et alget.'

L. 432. Newton notes the fitness of the adverb 'patiently' here, after Satan had reproached Jesus with his *poverty*, as compared with 'temperately' in l. 378, when the banquet is refused.

Cf. iii. 43, 121, iv. 285, where the adverb is altered to suit each occasion.

L. 436. **Highth**. See note on i. 13.

L. 439. **Gideon** was the least of a poor family (Judges vi. 15); **Jephtha**, 'the son of a strange woman' (*ib.* xi. 2). For David exalted from the sheep-folds to the throne, see Psalm lxxviii. 70 (*N.*)

L. 442. Cf. i. 241, iv. 151.

L. 444. Cf. l. 182, iv. 116, n. The introduction of examples from profane history not only adds variety, but shows a liberality of mind, which contrasts favourably with the narrower Puritan sentiment on these matters. But see iv. 285, &c.

L. 446. These are famous instances of ancient Roman virtue. Cf. Hor. *Od.* i. 12. 37, &c. ; Cic. *de Senectute*, vi. xvi., *de Officiis*, xiii. ; Virg. *Æn.* v. 844. **Quintus** Cincinnatus was twice taken from the plough to be dictator ; **Curius** Dentatus refused the Samnite gold ; **Fabritius** could not be bribed by Pyrrhus to aid in bringing about a dishonourable peace. The noble example of **Regulus** is made use of by Horace (*Od.* iii. 5) to shame the degenerate Romans of his own time.

L. 448. **Names of men** = 'famous men.' See l. 346, n., and cf. Rev. iii. 4, 'thou hast a few *names*' (*K.*) In *S. A.* 677, 'heads without *names*' = obscure.

L. 452. **And** = 'also' or 'even,' as often in Old English. Cf. Northumbrian Psalter, about 1315, (Psalm xvi. 27) 'with chosen *and* be chosen thou sal;' Wiclif, 2 Cor. xi. 21, 'In what thing ony man dare, *and* I dare.' Some editions have the comma after 'perhaps.'

L. 454. Cf. 1 Tim. vi. 10.

L. 455. **Abate** = 'blunt,' from *abattere*, 'to beat down.' Cf. *Rich. III.* v. 5, '*abate* the edge of traitors.' So 'bate' in *Love's Labour's Lost*, i. 16, 'That honour which shall *bate* his scythe's keen edge;' *Hamlet*, iv. 7, 'a sword *unbated*.' Sallust, *Catilina*, c. 12, says of the corrupted state '*hebescere* virtus . . . coëpit.'

Ll. 457-480. The sense is—'I reject a crown, not because of its dangers, *for* (l. 463) a king ought to labour for the public good ; *but* because (l. 466) true kingship lies in self-government, and still more in the teaching and guiding of nations (l. 473), which is the noblest office of a king.'

L. 460. Cf. Shakspeare *Hen. IV.* iii. 1—the soliloquy of the king, beginning 'Sleep, gentle sleep;' also *ib.* iv. 4, where Prince Henry

addresses the crown lying on his father's pillow, 'O polished perturbation, golden care,' &c.

L. 463. Dunster observes that Milton does not condemn monarchy *per se*, but only the abuse of it. He thinks that the failure of his party may have reconciled him to a form of government, of which he had lately declared that it was all but impossible to find an hereditary monarch that sought his people's good before his own, wherefore the risk of allowing kingship was one too great to be run. But the state of England after 1660 was hardly such as to 'reconcile' Milton to kingly government, nor do these lines confirm the idea that he was so reconciled. For he not only demands for his 'king' an almost ideal excellence, but declares that this may be attained by 'every wise and virtuous man;' and that, on the whole, a royal crown is to be avoided rather than desired. There could not well be a more complete contrast than that between the picture here drawn of kingship and its living representation in the person of Charles II.

L. 466. Cf. iv. 283, where Satan ingeniously applies our Lord's words to his own purposes. Newton compares Hor. *Od.* ii. 2. 9, 'Latius regnes avidum domando Spiritum,' &c., and *Sat.* ii. 7. 83-85, 'Quisnam igitur liber?' &c. Cf. also Proverbs xvi. 32; xxv. 28.

L. 470. **Cities of men** (*P. L.* xi. 640), the Homeric *ἄστυα ἀνθρώπων*; 'hominum urbes,' in Horace, *A. P.* 142.

L. 473, &c. So in the *Christian Doctrine*, ch. xv., it is said that Christ 'governs not the bodies of men alone, but their minds and consciences, and that not by force and fleshly weapons.' And in his *Treatise of Civil Power* Milton maintains that Christ's government 'deals only with the inward man and his actions, which are all spiritual, and to outward force not liable.'

L. 478. **That other**, i.e. a mere temporal ruler.

L. 479. Cf. i. 221, &c.

Ll. 481, 482. Compare the language of Hephæstion to those who declined the kingdom of Sidon (Quintus Curtius, iv. 1):—'*Vos quidem macti virtute estote, qui primi intellexistis quanto majus esset regnum fastidire, quam accipere*' (*N.*) Milton possibly alludes to the example of Charles V. of Spain, and of Christina, queen of Sweden, whom he had extravagantly complimented in his *Defensio Secunda*, before her abdication in 1654 (*D.*) His panegyric concludes thus:—'*She may abdicate the sovereignty, but she can never lay aside the queen; for her reign has proved that she is fit to govern, not only Sweden, but the world.*'

L. 482. **Greater and nobler**, adj. for adverb. See notes on l. 394, i. 203.

Ll. 484-486. The conclusion is that, since riches are desirable neither for their own sake nor as a means to greatness, the temptation to acquire them is devoid of force.

### BOOK III.

Ll. 1-42. *Satan, with many flattering words, endeavours to awaken in Jesus a desire for glory. He quotes instances of those who had performed great actions and achieved great conquests in their youth, and urges him to imitate their example.*

L. 1. **A while**. See **erewhile** in Glossary.

L. 3. **Convinced** = 'convicted,' or 'overcome in argument.' In the modern sense of the word, a man may be 'convicted' but not 'convinced.' Cf. *Comus*, 792; also John viii. 46. Lady Macbeth would 'convince' Duncan's memory 'with wine and wassail.' So in Chapman, *Iliad*, vi. 182, 'Chimæra the invincible he sent him to *convince*.' Bacon, *Essay* xvi., has 'to *convince* atheism,' i.e. 'refute.'

L. 4. **Drift**, 'intention.' Cf. *Two Gent. of Verona*, ii. 6, 'to plot this *drift*;' Chapman, *Il.* x. 291, 'related *drifts*' = 'reported designs.'

L. 5. Cf. i. 120.

L. 10. **Large**, i.e. 'capable of much wisdom.' Cf. *P. L.* i. 444; 1 Kings iv. 29.

L. 11. **Perfect shape**. Todd cites the '*formam ipsam honesti*' of Cicero, *de Officiis*, i. 5, and *P. L.* iv. 848. These are imperfect renderings of the Platonic *idéa* or archetype; but the literal notion is that of an outline or model presented to the eye. In the *Arcopagitica* Milton says,—'Truth came once into the world with her divine master, and was a *perfect shape* most glorious to look on.'

L. 14. **Urim and Thummim, &c.** Milton seems to adopt the opinion of those who (as Josephus) identified the Urim and Thummim with the twelve stones of the breast-plate. Others imagine them to have been stones placed *within* the breast-plate (*Exodus*

xviii. 30), and contemplated by the high priest, when he 'inquired of Jehovah.' The names are said to mean Clearness and Perfection (or Truth), and are rendered in the Septuagint by *Δήλωση* and *Ἀλήθεια*. **Oraculous**, formerly used for 'oracular,' but not elsewhere by Milton. Cf. Bacon, *Essays*, vi. 'equivocations, or *oraculous* speeches.'

L. 18. **Conduct**. Ital. *condutto*. Cf. *P. L.* i. 130. Pope, *Moral Essays*, i. 132, 'to prove one action *conduct*.' So often in Shakspeare. *Conducere* means 'to collect' or 'hire' troops, not 'to lead' them.

L. 19. **Sustain**, 'endure,' or 'bear up against,' like *sustinere impetum*, &c. Caesar, *B. G.* iv. 3, has 'vim sustinere.' Cf. *P. L.* x. 950. **Subsist** = 'hold one's ground.' Lat. *subsistere*, as in Virg. *Æn.* xii. 4. 491, '*Substitit* Æneas.' Cf. *P. L.* ix. 359.

L. 22. **Affecting** (cf. l. 45) = 'desiring,' without any idea of pretence. Cf. Chapman, *Il.* iii. 428, 'earth-affecting feet,' viii. 318, 'his *affected* (beloved) Hercules;' Bacon, *Essays*, xiii. 1, 'Goodness [is] the *affecting* of the weal of man.' In Shakspeare the modern meaning also appears, as in *Lear* ii. 2, '*affect* a saucy roughness.'

L. 24. **Deprive**, sc. 'of.' See i. 269, n. Greek verbs of depriving take a double accusative, *ἀποστερεῖν τινά τι*.

L. 25, &c. Jesus, having refused riches, is here tempted to desire glory. So in Fletcher's poem he is brought last to the abode of Panglory, who presides over Avarice and Ambition. Spenser takes Guyon from the 'delve of Mammon' to the palace of Glory, to be tempted by Philotimè (*F. Q.* II. vii.)

L. 26. **Sole**, see on i. 100.

L. 27. **Erected**. Cf. *P. L.* i. 679; Cic. *pro Rege Deiotaro*, xiii. 'magno animo et *erecto* est,' i.e. 'lofty' or 'elevated' (*D.*) See my note on *Lycidas*, 70, and the passage from Cic. *pro Archia*, quoted there. **Most tempered pure ethereal** = 'of purest ethereal temper,' or 'most purely (and) ethereally tempered,' adj. for adverb. 'Pure-ethereal' is like 'sudden-bold,' 'deep-contemplative,' &c., in Shakspeare, and perhaps 'massy-proof' in *Il Pens.* 158. **Temper** = 'constitution,' from the idea of mixing in proportion (Greek *τέμνω*, Lat. *tem-pus*, *tem-perare*, &c.) See *Lycidas*, 33, n.

L. 31. Jesus was in his thirtieth year (Luke iii. 23.)

L. 32. By his victory at Arbela, B.C. 331, Alexander, then scarcely 25, overthrew the Persian empire. Eight years afterwards he had subdued Pactria and the other Asiatic provinces, and he died in B.C. 323 at Babylon, his newly made capital, aged 32.

L. 34. **Dispose** = 'disposal.' Cf. l. 269; *Two Gent. of Verona*, ii. 7, 'all that is mine I leave at thy *dispose*.' See i. 37, n. **Brought down, &c.** Scipio did this effectually at Zama B.C. 202, when he was 32 years old. He had however taken New Carthage, and expelled the Carthaginians from Spain, before he was 28.

L. 35. Pompey was in his 45th year when he triumphed over Mithridates, B.C. 61. But he had enjoyed two previous triumphs, the first being in B.C. 81, when he was only 24 years of age. He then received the title of Magnus, for his services in the cause of Sulla.

L. 36. **Triumph.** See i. 175, n. For the *verb* thus accented, cf. *P. L.* i. 123; iii. 338, &c. Shakspeare accents the word both ways. [The effect of the grand Chorus in *Israel in Egypt*, 'he hath *tridmphed* gloriously' is often marred by the substitution of the modern accent for that which Handel intended.] **Rode.** See i. 165, n. and cf. Shakspeare *Hen. V.* iv. 3, 'the king is *rode* to see the battle.'

L. 37. **To** = 'added to,' the Greek *πρός* with dative, as *πρός τοῦτοις, præterea*. Cf. *Rom. and Juliet*, i. 3., 'Seek happy nights to happy days;' *Macbeth*, iii. 1, 'to that dauntless temper . . . he hath a wisdom,' &c.

L. 41. The story is that Julius Cæsar, one day reading the life of Alexander (or, as some say, looking at his statue), wept to think that Alexander at the same age had conquered so many nations, while he himself had done nothing memorable. (*N.* from Plutarch.)

L. 42. **Inglorious**, 'without glory,' not 'insensible to the charms of glory' (*D.*), as the above anecdote shows.

Ll. 43-107. *Jesus replies by contrasting the vanity of popular fame with that true glory, which the good man enjoys from the approbation of God and the angels. Even upon earth glory is to be sought, not by deeds of war and violence, but in a life of wisdom and patient virtue, as exemplified in Job and Socrates. The desire of fame oftenest defeats its own end; he 'seeks not his own glory, but His that sent him.'*

L. 45. **Affect.** See l. 22, n.

L. 47. **Blaze of fame.** Cf. *Lycidas*, 74; Spenser, *Sheph. Cal.* iv. 44, 'Help me to *blaze* her worthy praise.' We still say, 'to blaze abroad.' Cf. *blazon* in heraldry, which comes either from the idea of brightness, as of a torch (*A.-S. blæse*), or from *blowing* a trumpet (*blæsan*, to 'blow').

Ll. 49-59. Cf. Hor. *Od.* III. ii. 17-20. Commentators have stumbled at this utterance of 'the most democratic' of poets. But Milton's ideal of a 'free commonwealth' differed widely from that of the vulgar; nor is 'democratic' a just epithet of a man who insisted so strongly as he did upon the claims of education and intellectual culture as pre-requisites of good government. See his *Ready Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth*, and Introduction, p. xxx.

L. 56. **Of** = 'by,' as in 'seen *of* Cephas,' 'accepted *of* God,' &c. &c. So sometimes  $\epsilon\kappa$  in Greek, as in Homer, *Il.* ii. 669,  $\epsilon\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\nu \epsilon\kappa \Delta\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ , 'were loved *of* Zeus.'

L. 57. Milton certainly here alludes to himself. See Introduction, p. Newton instances Abdiel, in *P. L.* v. *ad fin.*, who was alone 'faithful among the faithless,' and was approved by God in the sight of the angels.

L. 59. **Scource of few, &c.**, i.e. it requires the consent of a multitude to bestow 'glory.' But, to avoid any seeming discrepancy with what he had just said about *popular* praise, Milton goes on to explain how and from whom 'true glory' is obtained. Dunster quotes Seneca, *Epist.* 102, 'Gloriam latius fusam intelligo; *consensum enim multorum exigit.*'

L. 60. See Psalm xxxvii. and *Lycidas*, 81. This is the 'approving or gracious knowledge' referred to in ch. iv. of the *Christian Doctrine*, by which God 'foreknew' those whom he predestinated 'to salvation.'

L. 62. Luke xii. 8. **Divulges** (*divulgare*) = 'spreads abroad.' Cf. *S. A.* 1248, 'though fame *divulge* him father of five sons.' In Latin, as in English, the word is oftener used of things than of persons.

L. 67. Job i. 8.

Ll. 69, 70. Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* iii. 2, describes true glory as the 'consentiens laus bonorum,' whereas that false popular glory which apes the true is 'temeraria atque inconsiderata, et plerumque peccatorum vitiorumque laudatrix' (Calton).

L. 74. **Worthies** = 'heroes,' but rather in the modern depreciatory sense. Formerly no such idea attached to the word. Cf. Nahum, ii. 5, 'he shall recount his *worthies*' ('gallants' in margin).

L. 75. Cf. *P. L.* xi. 691, &c., where Michael warns Adam of the degeneracy of his descendants, as shown by deeds of violence being honoured and rewarded.

L. 78. Dunster cites Joel ii. 3.

Ll. 81, 82. Antiochus II. was called  $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ . Cf. the popular salutation of Herod Agrippa I., in Acts xii. 23.  $\text{Εὐεργέτης}$ , and  $\text{Σωτήρ}$



were common titles, e.g. of Demetrius, Antigonus, Ptolemy I., and Gelon of Syracuse. Cf. Luke xxii. 25.

L. 84. When Alexander visited the Libyan temple of Ammon, he was saluted by the priests as the son of Jupiter. Romulus was the reputed son of Mars.

L. 85. **Discover**, 'expose' or 'show to be;' cf. *Coriolanus*, ii. 2, 'leaves nothing undone that may *discover* him their opposite.' *Discover* literally = 'uncover,' as in Psalm xxix. 9. So 'detect' (*detegere*) once meant 'expose,' as in B. Jonson, *Bart. Fair*, iii. 1, 'nor do we mean to *detect* you.'

L. 86. **Rolling**. Cf. *Comus*, 77, and Lat. *volutari*, used of 'rolling in vice.' So 'wallow' and 'welter,' which are cognates of *volvere*, as in Latimer's *Sermons*, 'they that *welter* in pleasures and idleness;' Tennyson, *Holy Grail*, 770, 'those that *welter* in their sin.'

L. 93. **Thy** = 'done by thee.' Cf. 'his good,' l. 125; *Tempest*, v. 1, 'their high wrongs.'

L. 96. Here, as in ii. 446, scriptural and heathen instances are introduced side by side. For a partial exception to this 'catholic' spirit in Milton, see iv. 294, n. In Pope's *Temple of Fame* next to the warriors came the 'much-suffering heroes . . . fair Virtue's silent train,' among whom 'the godlike Socrates ever shines supreme' (*D.*)

L. 101. **African**. Cf. l. 34, ii. 199. 'African' for Africanus is a noticeable abbreviation. For Milton's practice in this respect see my note on *Lycidas*, 151.

l.l. 103, 104. This is not universally true, even when justified by the addition 'the *man* at least.' A man often gets praised for actions which benefit others, though they be done from unworthy motives. Still there is a *tendency* in mankind to refuse the 'verbal reward' to those whom they know have been actuated solely by the desire of praise; hence it is true that in the long run the most self-forgetful are likely to be best remembered. St. Augustine has said, 'vis possidere terram? vide ne possidearis a terra.'

**His** refers to 'deed.' That Milton avoided the use of *its* is shown by the fact that it occurs only thrice in his poems (*Nat. Hymn*, 106; *P. L.* i. 254; iv. 813), though it was then freely used by some writers. In Shakspeare 'its' occurs about ten times in the First Folio of 1623, and much oftener in later editions. The Bible of 1611 has not a single instance. See Masson's Introduction, pp. lxii. &c.

L. 106. John vii. 18; viii. 50; xiii. 32; xvi. 14.

Ll. 108-149. *Satan justifies the love of glory from the example of God himself, who requires it of all his creatures. Jesus refutes this argument by showing that, as goodness is the true ground on which glory is due to the Creator, sinful man can have no claim to it; yet that God will glorify those who seek his glory, and not their own.*

L. 109, &c. Thyer observes that Milton has here given us his solution of a great theological question,—‘why God created the world, and what is that glory which he expects from his creatures.’ Satan’s argument, though false, has an air of plausibility, which the answer ably exposes.

**Slight**, adj. for adverb. See i. 203, n.

L. 112. **Content**, sc. ‘to be.’ See i. 388, 477, n.

L. 117. **Glory he, &c.** For the *metrical* effect, see Introduction, p. xliv.

L. 119. **Barbarous.** Originally all but Greeks were so called, but in the New Testament Jews are excepted; hence the threefold division in Coloss. iii. 11.

L. 121. **Fervently**, lit. ‘glowing’ with the thought of God’s goodness, and eager to vindicate his honour. See ii. 432, n.

L. 122. **And reason.** Cf. Fuller, *Pisgah Sight*, ii. 121, ‘he was beloved by his father, and *good reason*;’ *Macbeth*, iv. 3, ‘*and wisdom* to offer up a weak poor innocent lamb.’

L. 125. **His good.** Cf. l. 93, n; also *P. L.* iv. 44.

L. 128. Cf. *P. L.* iv. 46, where Satan accuses himself of ingratitude to the Creator (*N.*)

L. 130. So the Lady in *Comus*, 776, notes that the ungrateful man ‘*blasphemes* his feeder.’

L. 132. **Recompense**, used of returning evil as well as good. Cf. Romans xii. 17.

L. 134, &c. This is substantially the doctrine of Original Sin, first formulated by Augustine in his Pelagian controversy. In the *Chr. Doctrine*, ch. xi., Milton distinguishes between original sin itself, or inborn depravity of nature, and the ‘guiltiness’ (*reatus*) or ‘imputation of sin,’ whereby we become ‘guilty before God’ (ὁμολογοῦμεν), Rom. iii. 19. This is the ‘condemnation’ alluded to in l. 136.

L. 136. **Ignominy**, pronounced *ignomy*, as in *P. L.* i. 115, ii. 207, and often so written in Shakspeare. See Abbott, *Sh. Gram.* § 461.

L. 138. **Recreant** = 'traitorous.' See Glossary. **Ingrate**, directly from *ingratus*. See i. 180; 385, 476, n, and cf. *P. L.* iii. 97.

L. 143. **Who, &c.**; antecedent postponed, as often in Latin.

L. 146. **Had not, &c.**, like 'non habeo dicere,' οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν.

L. 148. See *P. L.* i. 38, where the desire of 'glory above his peers' is given as the moving cause of Satan's rebellion. Also cf. *P. L.* i. 110, 262; ii. 427; iv. 50.

Ll. 150-180. *Satan next urges Jesus respecting his claim to the throne of David and the kingdom of Judea, now a Roman province. Reminding him of Judas Maccabæus, he presses him to exert himself for the deliverance of his countrymen, and to lose no time in beginning to reign.*

L. 154. Both the genealogies of Jesus are traced through Joseph; nor did the Jewish law recognise descent through the mother. But Milton may be adopting the later opinion that Luke gives the genealogy of Mary, whom some suppose to have been the daughter of Heli. This opinion seems to have been started in the sixteenth century; it is elaborately defended by South, in a sermon preached probably between 1670 and 1680.

L. 158. Judea was annexed to the Roman province of Syria under Cyrenius, on the deposition of Archelaus, A.D. 7 (Josephus, *Jewish Ant.* xviii. 1).

L. 160. Neither Pontius Pilate nor the other Roman governors systematically insulted the Jewish religion. Pompey indeed once polluted the Holy of Holies by his mere presence, leaving the Temple treasures untouched; but Crassus afterwards took away all that Pompey had spared.

L. 163. Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, upon a false report of the revolt of Judea, attacked and took Jerusalem. He spoiled the Temple of the holy vessels, and defiled the altar of burnt-offering by sacrificing a sow upon it (2 *Macc.* v. 16).

L. 165. Judas, named Maccabæus, or 'the Hammerer' (cf. Charles *Martel*), was the son of Mattathias, priest of Modin, now El Medyeh, a village in the north-west of Judea. Having first retired to the wilderness with a chosen band (2 *Macc.* v. 27), he took up arms against Antiochus, and defeated him several times, but was at last basely deserted and slain. Through his prowess the city and

Temple were recovered, and the Maccabæan family continued to be priests and princes of Judæa until the time of Herod the Great.

L. 171. **Kingdom** here = 'royal power.' In the Prose Works Milton generally uses 'kingship' (*D.*) **Let move thee zeal.** Cf. iv. 223. This inversion is perhaps due to the influence of Latin, where 'let-move' would be one word (*moveat*). Chapman, *Iliad*, i. 26, has 'nor thy returning feet *let* ever visit us again.' Keightley, in comparing such phrases as 'said he,' &c., seems to forget that 'zeal and duty' are not nominatives, but accusatives after 'let.'

L. 173. In the *Faery Queene*, ii. 44, Occasion is represented as an old hag with a grey forelock, the back of her head being bald. Hence the common proverb. Cf. Bacon, *Essay* xxi: 'Occasion turneth a bald noddle, after she hath presented her locks in front, and no hold taken.' Dunster quotes Phædrus, *Fables*, v. 8:—

'Calvus comosa fronte, nudo corpore;  
Quem si occuparis teneas, clapsum semel  
Non ipse possit Jupiter reprehendere.'

L. 174. According to the old proverb about the 'will' and the 'way.'

L. 175. Psalm lxix. 9; John ii. 17.

L. 178. **Sung.** See i. 172, n.

Ll. 181-250. *Jesus replies that God has decreed a due time for all things; therefore he will abide patiently, and suffer, if it be so ordained. Why should Satan be anxious for the exaltation of one whose rising was destined to be his own fall? Satan answers that, being now doomed without hope, he has ceased to fear; nay, that the reign of a being so benevolent may even bring some alleviation of his present misery. He attributes the seeming reluctance of Jesus to diffidence and inexperience, and proposes to show him the kingdoms of the world and all their glory.*

L. 183. Eccl. iii. 1.

L. 187. Acts i. 7.

L. 188. Cf. i. 155, &c.

L. 189. **Things adverse**, lit. from Lat. *res adversæ*.

L. 190. **Insult.** Cf. *aspect*, l. 217; and see i. 75, n.

L. 192. **Expecting** = 'waiting,' Lat. *expectare*. See i. 53, n; and cf. *P. L.* xii. 561, n.

L. 195. Cicero, *De Legibus*, iii. 2: 'Qui bene imperat parucrit

aliquando necesse est ;' Plato, *De Legibus*, vi. ; ὁ μὴ δουλεύσας οὐδ' αὖ δεσπότης γένοιτο ἀξίως ἐπαίνου (N.) So Livy (xxi. 4) notes Hannibal's 'talent for obedience as well as for commanding.'

L. 203. **Inly racked.** Cf. i. 466 ; and see Glossary, s. v. **inly.**

L. 204. Cf. i. 405 ; *P. L.* iv. 108.

L. 207. **The expectation, &c.** Observe how the inversion of the order of words in this sentence emphasises 'more.'

L. 210. So Moloch, *P. L.* i. 85, &c., advises 'open war.' on the ground that it would be well to arrive at the *worst* that God could do to them.

L. 213. The first edition has the stop after 'crime,' i.e. 'whatever *it be*, *it is* for itself condemned.' But this double ellipse is avoided by pointing as in the text, i.e. 'my crime, whatever *it be*, was my crime,' &c. Cf. 'wherever,' iv. 404.

L. 215. **Brow.** See ii. 216, n.

L. 217. **From**, i. e. 'judging from.' There is therefore no need for Keightley's emendation 'for.'

**Aspect.** See note on 'insult,' l. 190, and cf. *P. L.* iii. 266.

**Regard** = 'look.' Fr. *regard*. So 'stern regard,' *P. L.* iv. 877 ; 'regard benign,' xi. 334.

L. 219. Cf. Ode on *Death of a Fair Infant*, 64 :

'But oh ! why didst thou not stay here below,  
To bless us with thy heaven-loved innocence ;  
To slake his wrath, whom sin hath made our foe,  
To stand 'twixt us and our deserved smart ?' (D.)

L. 220. So in *P. L.* ii. 292 the rebel angels dread the effects of God's wrath 'worse than hell,' of which Belial had said (ll. 165, &c.) 'this hell then seemed a refuge from these wounds.'

L. 221. Cf. Isaiah xxv. 5, where God's interposition to save is described as 'bringing down the heat with the shadow of a cloud.'

L. 227. See i. 190, and following soliloquy of Jesus.

L. 232. Cf. ii. 81.

L. 233. **Viewed**, participle absolute, agreeing with 'towns.'

L. 234. In Luke ii. 41, 42 it is implied that Jesus went up then for the first time ; afterwards, being now 'a son of the law' (ii. 209, n.), he would attend the Passover regularly with his parents.

L. 238. **Insight.** The early editions have 'in sight,' i.e. 'in discerning.' But this is rather awkwardly followed by the words 'in all things,' &c. ; and it is quite in Milton's manner to use 'insight' in loose apposition to the former clause, i.e. 'best school,' &c. [*which will be to thee*] the quickest [means of] insight,' &c.

Cf. Eur. *Orest.* 1105 : Ελέην κτάνωμεν Μενέλεω λύπην πικράν, 'let us slay Helen [which will be], a bitter grief to Menelaus.'

L. 241. **Novice**, adjectival, like 'virgin majesty,' ii. 161. Cf. 'childhood innocence,' *Mids. N. Dream*, iii. 2; 'glutton sense,' Spenser, *Muioptomos*, 179. Fuller has 'clergy profession,' 'mother descent,' &c.

L. 242. 1 Sam. ix. 20.

L. 243. The two last syllables of 'unadventurous' are unemphatic and supernumerary. See Introduction, p. xxxviii.

L. 245. **Rudiments**. See i. 157, n. Here it means early state of inexperience.

L. 247. **Inform**. Lit. 'put into shape' (*informare*), i.e. 'train.' Cf. *Comus*, 180; Psalm xxxiii. 8, 'I will *inform* thee and teach thee.' The head-master of Winchester and Eton is styled *Informator*.

Ll. 251-346. *Satan conveys Jesus to the top of a high mountain, and shows him most of the countries of Asia with their chief cities, the seats of ancient empires. He bids him especially mark the Parthian host, now preparing to resist the incursions of the Scythians, their vast array of forces, and the pride and splendour of their equipments.*

L. 253. Compare Adam's view in *P. L.* xi. 377, 'It was a hill of Paradise the highest,' &c. where the present scene is referred to :—

'Not higher that hill, nor wider looking round,  
Whereon for different cause the tempter set  
Our second Adam in the wilderness.'

The traditional mount of the Temptation is Quarantana (see i. 393, n.); but Milton here makes Satan transport Jesus to a mountain-range much farther eastward, which Dunster identifies with Niphates in Armenia. (See the Map.) The Tigris rises on the south side of this range, and Milton follows the ancient tradition that the Euphrates had the same source. The southern branch of the Euphrates does indeed take its rise on the north side of Niphates, but the true source of the river is found by following its northern or main stream (Kára Sù), which rises to the north of Mount Abus, near Erzurum.

L. 255. **Hills**. See on l. 104.

L. 256. Strabo describes the Euphrates as flowing 'with a winding stream;' Statius calls it *vagus*. The Tigris is straight and swift in its course, and is said by Pliny to mean *arrow* in the Median language (*N.*) For the metre, see Introduction, p. xliii.

L. 257. **Champain**, 'plain-country' (Fr. *champ*, Lat. *campus*). Cf. Deut. xi. 30. Also spelt *champion*, as in Chapman, *Iliad*, xii. 29, 'the dusty *champion*.' **Interveined**, alluding to the number of small streams which intersect this district like veins. Quintus Curtius, ascribing its fertility to this cause, says, 'toto fere solo propter *venas* aquarum resudante' (D.)

L. 258. Todd notes a passage from Tasso, *Gier. Lib.* xv. 16, where the Nile is said to 'carry his *tribute to the sea* through his seven famous mouths.' Cf. Tennyson, *A Farewell*:

'Flow down, cold rivulet, to the sea,  
Thy *tribute wave* deliver.'

Hence the common geographical term 'tributary' of a river.

L. 259. **Fertile of corn**, 'ferax Cereris,' Ovid, *Amor.* ii. 16, 19, &c. **The glebe**. Cf. Virg. *Æn.* i. 531, 'ubere *glebæ*.' 'Gleba' is (1) 'a clod,' (2) 'farm-land.' Pope, *Rape of the Lock*, ii. 86, has—

'And o'er the *glebe* distil the kindly rain.'

Cf. Gray's *Elegy*, 26, 'the stubborn *glebe*.'

L. 261. **High-towred**. Cf. *L'Allegro*, 117. Towers of defence were a prominent feature in ancient cities; hence the common epithets *turrigeræ*, εὑπύργοι, &c. Πύργος is the same word as the English *burgh*.

L. 264. The southern part of Mesopotamia, east of the Chaboras (Chebar), was called by Greek geographers ἀνὺδρος, 'fountainless,' in contrast with the fertile Babylonia. It was inhabited by the Scenite Arabs; hence Xenophon (*Anab.* i. 5) calls it 'Arabia.' Cf. l. 274. Arabia Deserta lay to the south of the Euphrates, but the name was often extended to the district beyond the river.

L. 266. **Train**, probably = 'series,' as in 'train of thought.' But it also meant 'deceit'; thus Latimer speaks of 'a *train* and a trap laid before me.'

L. 267, &c. Satan, wishing to impress Jesus with an idea of the extent of the Parthian power (l. 294), passes in review before him the ancient empires of the East in rapid succession. As the whole vision is supernatural, we need not be 'curious to enquire' whether the sites only of these cities are supposed to be seen, or whether, by some grand phantasmagoria, they are presented flourishing all at once and in all their pride. The probability that Milton had in view St. Luke's words, 'in a moment of time,' points rather to the latter conclusion.

L. 269. **Cut shorter, &c.** i.e. 'cut our way shorter by many a league' (*K.*)

L. 271. This is the Armenian, or true Araxes, now the Aras, flowing into the Caspian. Xenophon calls it 'Phasis,' and the Chaboras 'Araxes' (*Anabasis*, I. iv. 19).

L. 274. **The Arabian drouth**, i.e. Arabia Deserta (see l. 264, n.) 'Arabian drouth' = 'dry Arabia'; cf. 'Libycam sitim,' for *sitientem Libyam*, Silius Ital. xiv. 74. For **drouth** or **droughth**, see Glossary.

L. 275. **Of length** = 'in circuit.' Nineveh, the capital of the Assyrian empire, is said to have been sixty miles in circumference; 'an exceeding great city of three days' journey' (Jonah iii. 3).

L. 276. **Golden** describes the splendour of monarchy (*D.*) Newton sees an allusion to the golden head of the image of Nebuchadnezzar's dream (Dan. ii. 32).

L. 277. Shalmanezzer carried away the ten tribes in the reign of Hezekiah, B.C. 721.

L. 281. **As ancient**, i. e. as Nineveh. Both are referred to the same period in Genesis x. 11, 12; Babylon is said to have been built by Semiramis, wife of Ninus. Nebuchadnezzar rebuilt it in B.C. 604 (Dan. iv. 30). He led Judah captive in the reign of Jehoiakim (2 Kings xxiv.), and again in that of Zedekiah (2 Kings xxv.) The restoration of the Jews by Cyrus is related in Ezra i. ii.

Ll. 285-292. See the Map. **Persepolis** was the capital of Persia under Cyrus; **Bactra** of Bactriana, a Persian province. **Ecbatana** was the ancient capital of Media, and a summer residence of the Persian kings; **Susa**, the Shushan of Scripture, was their winter residence.

L. 287. It is probable that the correct form is *Hecatompolis*, and that the 'hundred gates' are a fiction.

L. 288. **Amber stream** = 'clear stream.' Cf. *P. L.* iii. 358; Virg. *G.* iii. 523, '*purior electio campum petit annis.*' Herodotus and older writers say that the king drank only of the water of Choaspes, and that it was stored in silver vessels when he went abroad. This may have given rise to the story that none but the king might drink of this river, a prohibition absurd and impossible to enforce. Milton has adopted this later story, as better suited to his purpose. The Aldine edition quotes from Buckingham's Travels a statement that the king's son alone drinks the water of the Kára Sü, by some supposed to be the Choaspes. But see l. 253, n.

L. 290. **Emathian** = 'Macedonian,' from Emathia, a district



of Macedon. So, in Sonnet iii. 10, Alexander is called 'the great *Emathian* conqueror.' Cf. 'ducis *Emathii* clementia,' Ovid, *Trist.* III. v. 39.

L. 291. **Seleucia** was built by Seleucus, one of Alexander's captains. The epithet 'great' distinguishes it from the Syrian city of the same name. **Nisibis** was also called Antiochia. Though really a very ancient city, it was reported to be of Macedonian origin (Plin. vi. 13, 16). **Artaxata**, the capital of Armenia; **Teredon**, on the Persian Gulf; **Ctesiphon**, the winter residence of the Parthian kings (*N.*)

L. 295. **Arsāces**, properly Arsāces (Lucan, *Pharsalia*, i. 108). For a sketch of Parthian history see Note A at the end. The Parthians had long been formidable rivals of Rome, and in the first century B.C. were almost at the height of their power. Hence the force of the temptation to secure one or other of the opposing powers, and 'the Parthian' by preference (l. 360).

L. 297. The imputation of luxury is true, not so much of Antiochus II., nor of his son Seleucus, but of some of their successors, especially of Antiochus the Great in his later years, and Antiochus Epiphanes, who got the name of *Epimanes*, or 'the Madman,' on account of his excesses (*D.*) **Kings of Antioch**, the Seleucidæ (see Note A), from their usual place of residence.

L. 298. Thyer observes how well the following picture of the Parthian host mustering for battle is introduced, to relieve what would otherwise have been a tedious description. And yet it is done so naturally that there is no appearance of design. 'Ars est celare artem.'

L. 300. **Ctesiphon**. See on l. 291. Strabo says that the Parthian kings made Ctesiphon the rendezvous of their army, because it was larger and more convenient for military preparations than the capital, Seleucia. See Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, &c., Chap. viii., for an account of both cities.


L. 302. **Sogdiana**, the north-western limit of the Parthian empire. See Map.

**To her aid he marches.** Dunster compares Lucian's dialogue, the *Charon*, in which Hermes piles up a 'specular mount' (σκοπήν), and from it shows to Charon Babylon, and other famous cities; he then exhibits Cyrus in the act of marching against Lydia (καὶ νῦν ἐλασσεῖοντι ἐπὶ Λυδίαν εἰκεν, &c.)

L. 306. The 'Parthian shot,' *missa post terga sagitta* (Lucan, i. 229), is proverbial. Plutarch, in his Life of Crassus, says, 'The Parthians shoot as they fly, and thus by fighting all the while escape'

the disgrace of flight.' Cf. Virg. *Georg.* iii. 39, 'fidenterque fuga Parthum'; Hor. i. 19, 11, 'versis animosum equis Parthum.'

L. 307. **All horsemen.** Cf. l. 327, n.

L. 309. The **rhomb** (*rhombus*) was a lozenge-shaped battalion, thus ; the **wedge** (*cuneus*, ἰμβολον), formed by bisecting the rhomb, served to work its way into a mass of the enemy. The **half-moon** (*lunatum agmen*, Statius, *Theb.* v. 145), was made by turning back the **wings** (*ala*, κερατα), to present the main body to the enemy, and to guard against being taken in flank. This was called ἐπικάρπιος τάξις.

L. 310. **Numbers numberless.** Dunster gives several instances of this phrase from Wither, P. Fletcher, Drummond, and other poets of the seventeenth century. Cf. Tasso, *G. Lib.* xix. 121, 'l' innumerabil numero'; Lucretius, iii. 799, 'innumero numero.' The classical name for this figure, by which two opposite terms are brought into contact, is *oxymoron*; familiar Greek instances are γάμος ἀγάμος (Soph. *Œd. Tyr.* 1214), πόλις ἀπολις (Æsch. *Eum.* 457), ἄδωρα δῶρα (Soph. *Aias*, 674), &c. Cf. 'joyless triumphals,' iv. 578. Compare the general description with *P. L.* xi. 638.

L. 312. **Mail**, see Glossary. The Parthian mail for men and horses is mentioned by several ancient writers. Plutarch describes the terror of the Romans, when the Parthians 'suddenly uncovered their arms, and appeared like battalions of fire with the gleam of their breastplates and polished helmets. Their cavalry too were completely armed in brass and steel.'

Ll. 316-321. For **Arachosia**, &c., see the Map. **Candaor** is probably Candahar in Afghanistan. **Balsára**, as Sir W. Jones observes, is wrongly accented, being Basra (or Bássora), on the Persian Gulf; which moreover was not built till A.D. 656.

L. 323. See on l. 306. Plutarch in the passage there cited vividly describes the effect of the Parthian arrows on the Roman army.

L. 324. Cf. Virg. *Æn.* xii. 284:

'It toto turbida cœlo  
Tempestas telorum, et ferreus ingruit imber.'

The metaphor is natural and common. Cf. Spenser, *F. Q.* v. 4. 38. Gray's 'Iron sleet of arrowy shower' (*Fatal Sisters*, l. 3) was probably borrowed from Milton.

L. 325. So P. Fletcher, *Purple Island*, xi. 336, describes 'the false-back Tartars' as raining 'whole storms of darts' upon the pursuing foe—

'Conquered by standing out, and conquerors by flight.'

L. 326. A very picturesque line, for which Milton was probably indebted to his favourite author Euripides, who has in the *Phænissæ*, 109, *κατάχρηκτον ἄπαν πεδῖον ἀστράπτει*. Cf. also Virg. *Æn.* xi. 601, '*ferreus hastis horret ager*' (*N.*)

L. 327. **Nor wanted, &c.** Dunster explains the supposed inconsistency with l. 307 by explaining 'all horsemen' to mean 'skilled in the management of a horse, as every Parthian was.' But Milton's words imply merely that all those who *first* issued forth were 'horsemen,' and that these were the chief part, though not the whole, of their strength. See l. 344, &c. **Clouds of foot**, a translation of *νέφος πεζῶν* (Hom. *Il.* 274), and 'nimbus peditum' (Virg. *Æn.* vii. 793); **horn** is the extremity of the wing (*κερας, cornu*).

L. 328. **Cuirassiers all in steel**, called *cataphracti* in Livy, xxxvii. 40 (cf. *S. A.* 1619), and described by Sallust as 'ferrea omni specie.'

L. 329. **Endorsed**, lit. from *in* and *dorsum*, 'having towers on their backs.' Dunster quotes from Jonson, *Epigram to the Earl of Newcastle*, complimenting him on his horsemanship:—

'Nay, so your seat his beauties did *endorse*,  
As I began to wish myself a horse.'

In the *Spectator*, No. 498, 'endorse' is jocosely used of laying a whip across a man's back. Cotgrave gives the French phrase '*endosser un harnois*'—to put armour on the back. The 'towered elephants' (*turriti elephant*i, Pliny, *N. H.* viii. 7) are famous in history. At a battle near Magnesia, where Antiochus was defeated by the Romans, his elephants had towers containing five men each, and Pliny says that as many as sixty could be thus carried. Plutarch relates how Pyrrhus once entered Argos with his elephants, and how the towers had to be removed to enable them to pass the gates.

L. 330. Cf. *P. L.* i. 675. For **pioneer** see Glossary.

L. 332. Cf. Isaiah xl. 4.

L. 334. **Rivers proud, &c.** So Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 728, speaks of the Araxes as '*pontem indignatus*.' Thyer quotes *Æsch. Persæ*, 71, *πολύγομφον ὄδισμα ζυγὸν ἀμφιβαλὼν αὐχένι πόντου*.

L. 335. For the metre see Introduction, p. xlii.

L. 336. **Utensils.** For the accent cf. *Tempest*, iii. 2, 'he has brave *utensils*.' So Shakspeare accents *confessor*, *plebeian*, and many more (see Abbott, *Sh. Gr.* § 492). Even in the last century, Cowper, in his *Retired Cat*, has 'the old *utensil* of tin,' With this—

use of a word, now almost restricted to household articles, compare that of 'furniture'=equipment for war, in *P. L.* ix. 34. So in *Pilgrim's Progress* the sword, &c. in the armoury of the House Beautiful are called '*furniture* for pilgrims.'

Ll. 338-343. This is from the *Orlando Innamorato* of Boiardo, one of the 'lofty fables and romances' amid which Milton tells us, in his *Apology for Smectymnuus*, that his 'younger fæet wandered.' **Agrican** is the king of Tartary, **Gallaphrone** of Cathay, or Northern India. **Angelica** afterwards became the heroine of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. The number of Agrican's host were extravagantly said to have been 2,200,000.

L. 342. **Prowest knights** occurs in the *Faery Queene*, ii. 8. 18, and elsewhere in Spenser. For **prowest** and **Paynim** see Glossary. From the celebrated 'twelve peers of Charlemagne' came *douze pairs* (*doseperis* in Chaucer), and even *doucepere* in the singular, as in Spenser *F. Q.* iii. 10. 31, 'a doughty *doucepere*.' For 'peers' see i. 40, n.

L. 344. **Chivalry**, not = 'cavalry' only, but 'forces' generally, as probably in *P. L.* i. 307. Cf. l. 327, n. So the Italian *cavalleria*, as '*una cavalleria è la vita dell' uomo sopra la terra*' ('man's life upon earth is a warfare'). In the feudal times the mounted knights were 'the army' *par excellence*, hence 'chivalry' could be used as convertible with 'army.' In Gen. xxi. 32 Wiclif has 'Phicol, the prince of his *chyvalrye*' ('host' in our version); Trench, *Glossary*, p. 35.

Ll. 347-443. *Satan now informs Jesus for what purpose he has shewn him all these things; to convince him of the necessity for exertion, if he desired to enjoy the predicted kingdom. To keep it safe between two such powerful rivals as Rome and Parthia would be impossible; one of them must be secured as an ally, and the Parthian by preference. Thus will he be able to defy Rome, and especially to accomplish the deliverance of the ten tribes, still captive in Parthian territory. Jesus, having briefly noticed the vanity of an 'arm of flesh,' replies that he will not be found sluck when his time for reigning comes, that the servitude of the ten tribes is a just punishment of their idolatry, and that he will leave their fate to the providence of God, who in his own time may please to restore them to liberty and to their native land.*

L. 347. **I seek not, &c.**, i.e. 'I do not seek to enlist thy virtue in this cause, without at the same time ensuring thy safety

by every possible means, and this on no slight grounds.' Satan disguises his real object, which was to make Jesus sin through ambition, by representing the Parthian alliance as a necessary step towards securing his kingdom.

L. 353. **Endeavour** = 'strive hard,' Lat. *enitor*. Cf. Eph. iv. 3, where the Greek is *σπουδαζοντες*, a strong word. Nowadays almost any kind of attempt, however feeble, is called an 'endeavour.' Cf. l. 399.

L. 358. **Consent** = 'unanimous agreement.' See on ii. 130. Chapman, *Iliad*, iv. 404, has 'in mere consent,' i.e. 'unanimously.' **Opposite**, Lat. *oppositus*, 'opposing thee.' Cf. *P. L.* ii. 298, 'opposite to Heaven,' i.e. 'antagonistic.'

L. 362. See on l. 294, and Note A. As Syria lay between the two contending powers, its independence could only be maintained by an alliance with one or other of them.

L. 364. **Of late**. Not strictly accurate, since Hyrcanus had been deposed about seventy years previously. See next note.

L. 367. Here is a strange mistake. Antigonus and his uncle Hyrcanus II. were rivals for the throne. The latter was supported by the Romans, and when the Parthians invaded Syria in B.C. 40, Antigonus became their ally, and by their aid obtained the kingdom, which he kept until Herod took Jerusalem in B.C. 37. Hyrcanus, aged seventy, was carried by the Parthians to Seleucia. Milton's error is the more remarkable, since he might have made Satan suggest the case of Antigonus to Jesus as an encouragement for him to expect similar aid from the Parthians, if he courted their alliance.

L. 368. **Maugre**, 'in spite of,' Fr. *malgré*. Cf. *P. L.* iii. 255, ix. 56. Also spelt *maugree* (Sir John Mandeville's *Travels*).

L. 369. **Dispose** = 'disposal.' See on 'attest,' i. 37.

Ll. 375, 376. The force of this suggestion lies in the fact that this district was now included in the Parthian empire. In 2 Kings xviii. 11 we are told that Shalmanezzer carried away the ten tribes, 'and put them in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes.' The right rendering is 'on the Habor [Chaboras, see on l. 264], the river of Gozan,' a part of Mesopotamia, afterwards called Gauzanitis.

L. 377. Dunster proposes to read 'eight sons of Jacob,' not seeing that the 'two [sons] of Joseph' are *included*. Ephraim and Manasseh, being Joseph's sons, were strictly speaking *grandsons* of

Jacob; and as Levi had no distinct allotment, they, with Jacob's eight sons, made up the Ten Tribes of Israel.

L. 384. **From Egypt to Euphrates**; the bounds of the inheritance promised to Abraham (Gen. xv. 18), and realised by Solomon (1 Kings iv. 21).

L. 385. **Need**, after 'shalt,' as the position of 'not' shows. Hence Keightley's suggestion that Milton dictated 'need not' is unnecessary.

L. 387. Cf. 2 Chron. xxxii. 8, and Spenser, *F. Q.* i. 10. 1, 'What man is he that boasts of fleshly might?' (*D.*)

L. 380. **Instrument**, i.e. 'appliances of war,' Lat. *instrumentum belli*.

L. 391. **Vented**= 'uttered,' as in i. 433; *Taming of Shrew*, i. 2, 'vent our love'; *Antony and Cleopatra*, iii. 4, 'vented terms of honour.' Probably *vent* is to 'let out,' as wind (*ventus*). Chapman, *Iliad*, xix. 87, has 'Alcmena was to *vent* (i.e. give birth to) Hercules.'

L. 395. **Unpredict**= 'revoke the prediction' (l. 356). The prefix *un-* is the A.-S. *an-* or *on-*, meaning 'back,' and like the Latin *re-*, in *recludo*, &c., denotes a reversal of the action, as in *undo*, *unbind*, &c. Such compounds are easily coined; e.g. *uncreate*, *unthrone*, &c., in Milton; *unshout*, *unkiss*, *unhair*, &c., in Shakspeare. Fuller has *unsacrament*, *unproselyte*, *untongue*, &c. These are forcible, but mostly lack dignity, and are specimens of that *word-play* which Milton loved. See ii. 98, n. **Fail me**, i.e. 'cause me to fail' or 'disappoint,' not a common use of the word. In iv. 612 'failed' is passive.

L. 396. John vii. 6. Cf. ll. 182, &c.

L. 399. **Endeavouring**, after 'slack,' i.e. 'in my endeavours.' See on l. 353.

L. 401. **Argument of human weakness**, as showing that man has not natural weapons enough for his defence, but must invent others. The fallacy is obvious. Inventive capacity is a greater sign of power than the possession of natural weapons, such as the brutes have. See the famous Chorus in the *Antigone*, beginning πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ, κοῦδὲν ἀνθρώπου δεινότερον πέλει.

L. 406. **Just**, Lat. *justus*, 'proper,' 'adequate.'

L. 411, &c. Cf. 1 Chron. xxi. 1, where it is said that '*Satan* . . . provoked David to number Israel.' But it is said that the proper rendering is 'an *adversary*,' i.e. some one whose counsel proved injurious to David's best interests ('Speaker's Commentary').

L. 418, &c. For the idolatries of the Israelites, see 2 Kings xvii. 7-23.

L. 425. See St. Paul's argument in Romans ii. 17-29, that if the Jew keep not the law, his circumcision profiteth not.

Ll. 428-430. The construction probably is—'Who, if they were once freed, would follow (i.e. 'rush') headlong as to their ancient patrimony (i.e. 'to a possession which they felt to be their own by right'), without any repentance or desire of reformation; nay, perhaps they would even follow (i.e. 'serve') their old gods again.' In the first instance 'follow' will simply mean 'go' (cf. Virg. *G.* ii. 306, where 'secutus' is used of a *spreading* fire without any special reference to 'following' a lead); but including, as Dunster observes, the idea of *reckless rushing*, like a herd of cattle one after another. In the second instance '*follow to their gods*' means 'serve' or 'obey,' the 'to' being perhaps due to the influence of the Greek *ὑπακούειν*, which takes the dative. So *obey*; as in Romans vi. 16, 'his servants ye are to whom ye obey.'

L. 429. **Unhumbled, unrepentant, unreformed.** Milton is rather fond of this effect, e.g. in *P. L.* ii. 185, 'unrespited, unpitied, unrelieved,' and v. 899, 'unshaken, unseduced, untterrified.' Cf. *Hamlet*, i. 5, 'unhouseled, disappointed, unaneled.' Todd quotes a passage from the Prose Works where a bishop is said to be 'undiocessed, unrevenued, unlorded' (see on l. 395). So the Greek tragedians repeat adjectives compounded with ἀ- (=un-) as ἀκλαυστος, ἀστένακτος, Eur. *Alc.* 173, &c.

L. 431. 1 Kings xii. 29, 'Jeroboam set up golden calves in Bethel and in Dan.'

L. 432. Cf. Hosea iv. 17, 'Ephraim is joined to idols; let him alone.'

L. 433. **Time . . . best known**, the nom. absolute. Cf. l. 233.

L. 436. From Isaiah xi. 15, 16, where it is prophesied that Israel shall pass through the river (Euphrates) dryshod, 'as in the day when he came up out of Egypt.' Also see Rev. xvi. 12.

L. 441. For the metre see Introduction, p. xlii.

## BOOK IV.

Ll. 1-108. 'Satan, though so often repelled, yet persists in his temptation. From the western side of the mount he shows Jesus imperial Rome in its greatest pomp and splendour, a power which he might probably prefer before that of the Parthians; and tells him that he may easily expel Tiberius, restore the Romans to liberty, and make himself master, not only of the Roman Empire, but of the whole world.'

L. 1. **Perplexed**, a word which has now lost much of its force. (Cf. 'endeavour,' iii. 353, n.) It meant sore distress, not merely embarrassment, as in Luke xxi. 25, 'distress of nations with perplexity;' Chapman, *Iliad*, v. 347, 'perplexed with her late harm,' i.e. 'sorely pained' (ἀκηχεμένη). **Success** = 'issue.' Formerly the word was not used in a good sense only. Cf. *Areopagitica*, l. 7, 'what will be the success,' i.e. 'result.'

L. 5. **Sleeked**. Cf. *Comus*, 882; *Macbeth*, iii. 2, 'Sleek o'er your rugged locks.' Adams in his Sermons speaks of the devil's 'wrinkled hide, smoothed and sleeked with tentations.' In the form *slick* it is very common in Chapman = 'make smooth.' O. E. *slyken*, as in *Piers Plowman*, ii. 98, 'til sleuth and slepe slyken his sides.' Fuller, *Pisgah, Sight of Palestine*, says the New Jerusalem was 'fairer, finer, slicker than any earthly fabric.'—See *P. L.* ix. 494-732, for the 'persuasive rhetoric' by which Satan 'won on Eve.' Sylvester, in his translation of Du Bartas (a work much read in Milton's time) uses the expression 'glozing rhetoric,' when describing the same circumstance.

L. 6. **So little**, i.e. 'proving of so little value.'

L. 7. **This**, i.e. 'this man.'

**His over-match**. Cf. 'impar congressus Achilli,' Virg. *Æn.* i. 474. Though Satan had been very confident at first (i. 100, &c.), he speaks with much diffidence after his first failure, fearing lest he 'be over-matched' (ii. 146).

Ll. 10-20. These are the only similes in the poem. Dunster thinks that the first is 'no simile,' but a description of the actual conduct of Satan. But the 'as' of this line and the connecting 'or' of l. 15 show that Milton intended this as the first of three similes; and it is highly probable that he had in view his own defeat of Salmasius in the *Defensio Populi Anglicani*, 1651, a man who had been hitherto 'matchless held' throughout Europe for his learning and argumentative powers.



L. 12. **Salve**, 'heal' or 'make good,' H. G. *salbe*, 'ointment.' Hence the old English custom of 'salving,' i.e. anointing the kings with 'sweet ointment.' Cf. Shaksp. *Cor.* iii. 2, 'you may *salve* . . . the loss of what is just.'

**For very spite.** Cf. l. 446.

L. 17. **Beat**, for 'beaten.' See on i. 165.

Homer twice (*Iliad*, ii. 469, xvi. 641) introduces this simile of a persistently attacking foe. Here it expresses with great force the pertinacity of a troublesome pest; the terms *musca* and *μύια* were 'specially used of an impertinent parasite' (*D.*)

L. 18. Cf. Virg. *Æn.* vii. 586. Giles Fletcher, in his *Christ's Triumph over Death*, has a closely similar comparison. As the former simile showed the pertinacity of the tempter, this shows the fruitlessness of his efforts against the steadfast resolution of Jesus.

L. 20. **Vain battery.** In imitation of the Greek accusative in apposition to the sentence. See on iii. 238.

L. 27. **Another plain**, i.e. that part of Italy comprising Etruria, Latium, and Campania, 'backed' on the N. E. by the Apennine range, and divided nearly 'in the midst' by the river Tiber, which flows into the 'Southern Sea,' called Mare Inferum, to distinguish it from Mare Superum, or the Adriatic.

L. 31. Cf. Drayton, *Polyolbion*, 10th Song, 73, 'the *septrion* cold.' *Septentrio* is from 'Septem Triones,' or 'seven oxen,' the name given to the seven stars of the Bear; hence the Northern regions. Cf. Chaucer, *Monkes Tale*, 'east and west and *septentrioun*.' **Thence**, i.e. rising in the Apennines. Ovid, *Met.* xv. 431, calls the Tiber *Apenninigena*.

L. 32. **Of whose banks on each side**, inaccurately for 'on whose banks, on each side of it (the river).' Masson reads 'off' for 'of,' which gives the right sense, but is hardly Miltonic. Perhaps the old phrase *bank-side* (as in 'Bankside, Southwark') may suggest an explanation of the phrase, i.e. 'on each of whose *bank-sides*' (?) But 'bank-side' may = 'banked side.'

L. 34. **Elevate.** See i. 180; 385, n.

Ll. 35-38. The **palaces** of Rome were not only imperial dwellings, but private mansions. Allusions to their size and grandeur are frequent in Latin authors. They describe them as 'instar urbium,' 'domos in urbium modum exædificatas,' &c. See the celebrated Ode of Horace, ii. xv.

The **porches**, or porticoes, were both public and private ; they were raised on columns, and large enough (Juv. *Sat.* vii. 178) to drive in during bad weather. Horace refers to these also in the Ode mentioned above.

**Theatres** were for a long time temporary wooden buildings, though often costly in construction, especially that of M. Scaurus, built 58 B.C. Three years later Pompey erected the first stone theatre. Under the term 'theatre' Milton probably means to include the Amphitheatres and Circi.

The passion of the Romans for **baths** (*balneæ*) and their extravagance in building and adorning them are too well known to need illustration.

Keightley observes that **aqueducts** raised on arches and **triumphal arcs** are anachronisms in the reign of Tiberius. It is true that the most famous aqueduct, the *Aqua Claudia*, was begun under Caligula, A.D. 36; but there were at least six or seven before this date, the first being that of Appius Claudius the Censor, in 313 B.C. These earlier aqueducts ran for a long way underground, but portions of them were raised upon arches, and one aqueduct, the *Aqua Julia*, had several. There were also many Triumphal Arches during the Republic, but of no great size, and none of them now remain. The Arches of Titus, Trajan, and Constantine are most celebrated.

The **statues** of great men, mostly of bronze, were placed in the Forum. Afterwards the Emperors (especially Nero) had statues of themselves, ideally represented as gods. But the taste for art at Rome was private and individual rather than public and universal.

The custom of erecting **trophies** was adopted from Greece in the second century B.C. The Greeks erected theirs on the battlefield, but the Romans more often adorned the city with them. The trophies of Marius, after his conquest of Jugurtha and of the Cimbri and Teutones, were placed in front of the Capitol.

The cultivation of **gardens** was carried to a great extent at Rome. Avenues and groves of trees, hedges and raised terraces (l. 54) formed a prominent feature in them. The gardens of Lucullus were justly celebrated ; those of Julius Cæsar were left to the Roman people by his will (see Shaksp. *Jul. Cæsar*, iii. 2).

L. 38. **Presented**, agreeing with 'city,' l. 33 (*K.*)

L. 39. **Highth**. See on l. 13.

Ll. 40-42. Milton alludes to the fancies of certain commenta-

tors, who imagined various optical contrivances by which the effect might have been produced. Bochart, a famous Protestant minister at Caen, of the seventeenth century, has a long disquisition on this subject, to which he adds his opinion that Satan could easily have effected his purpose, 'when, instead of such telescopes and mirrors as we use, he had the clouds ready to his hand, which as Prince of the air he could shape and use at his pleasure.' R. Gilpin, in his *Dæmonologia Sacra*, 1677, argues at some length in the same direction.

L. 40. **Parallax**, not in its strict astronomical meaning, which would require two points of observation, but in the more general sense of *παράλλαξις* = 'change' or 'alternation.' Milton probably means to describe the effect of mirrors *successively* reflecting objects over a vast distance through the air.

L. 42. **Were**, sc. 'it.' For ellipse of the subject to a verb, see note on i. 85.

**Curious**, lit. 'careful' (Lat. *curiosus*); hence, 'over-careful,' 'scrupulous,' 'inquisitive.' Cf. *Taming of Shrew*, iv. 4, 'For *curious* I cannot be with you;' Chapman, *Iliad*, ii. 225, 'which shall be *curiously* observed.' So in *King Lear*, i. 2, '*curiosity* of nations' = 'nice distinctions.'

L. 47. The **Capitol**, or temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, was built on the south summit of the Capitoline hill; the *arx*, or 'citadel' proper, being the northern summit, steeper and higher. But the name *Capitolium* was often applied to the whole mountain, of which the 'Tarpeian rock' formed a part, hence called 'Arx Tarpeia,' Virg. *Æn.* viii. 652.

L. 48. **Hts.** See note on iii. 104.

L. 51. **Imperial palace, compass huge.** So in *P. L.* i. 284, 'his ponderous shield, *ethereal temper*;' vi. 576, 'brass, iron, *stony mould*.' In these phrases there is not so much an ellipse of 'of' (see Masson, Introduction, p. lxxxii.), as a direct imitation of the Latin and Greek 'case absolute,' where, the language being *inflected*, no preposition was required. This gorgeous 'imperial palace' was really begun by Nero and finished by Domitian. Augustus had a palace on the Palatine which Suetonius describes as small and lacking in splendour; it was in fact a private mansion enlarged (K.)

L. 52. **Skill**, i.e. 'skilled work.' See note on 'hand,' l. 59.

L. 54. **Terraces** there might have been, as we have seen on l. 38, but **turrets** and **spires** were not Roman, Dunster

supposes that Milton 'blended the old English castle with his Roman view.' Windsor Castle must have been familiar to him in his youth, being within a short distance of Horton, where he lived from 1632—1637. Cf. *L. Allegro*, 77; *Comus*, 935.

L. 57. **Microscope** here, because minute objects are presented to view, but 'telescope' in l. 42, where a general distant scene was described. Observe that by making Satan say 'aery microscope,' Milton admits the idea of some kind of optical delusion, respecting which he had before said it 'were curious to enquire.'

L. 58. Calton refers to Lucian's Menippus, who, from his position in the moon, could see both the 'outside and inside' of houses on the earth, and what was being done in them.

L. 59. **Hand** = 'handiwork,' as in *P. L.* ix. 438, 'the *hand* of Eve.' Cf. 'artificium *manus*,' Virg. *Æn.* i. 455. So, but rarely, *χείρ* in Greek. We still say 'hand' for 'handwriting.'

L. 60. Beams of cedar and marble columns were much used in Roman houses. Pliny gives several instances. The ceilings and beams were often gilded and inlaid with ivory; hence Horace says in contrast, *Odes*, ii. 18, 1: 'Non ebur neque aureum mea renidet in domo lacunar.'

L. 63. Under the Empire the senatorial provinces were administered by **Proconsuls**, the imperial by **Prætors**, whose full title was *Legati Cæsaris prætoria potestate*.

L. 66. **Turns**, a word seemingly coined by Milton, like 'idolisms,' l. 234, from *turma*, a cavalry-troop of thirty men. Ten *turmæ* made up an *ala* or 'wing' (iii. 309).

L. 68. The *Via Appia* was the great south road to Capua, and thence to Beneventum and Brundisium. The *Æmilian* was a continuation of the north road, called *Via Flaminia*, from Ariminum through Cisalpine Gaul. [Wordsworth, *Greece, Pictorial, Descriptive, and Historical*, p. 4, notices the use which Milton here makes of the *roads* of Italy, how he 'sends his thoughts to travel by those routes to the most distant parts of the Roman empire, by the *Æmilian* way to the forests of Germany and the "British West;" thence he crosses to the Sarmatians and beyond the Danube to the "Tauric pool;" by the Appian way he migrates downward to Syene, and wanders eastward to "India and the golden Chersonese."']

L. 70. **Syene**, in Egypt, on the borders of Ethiopia, was accounted as the southern limit of the Empire. **Both way**, for 'both

ways,' probably (as Prof. Masson suggests) because of the *s* in 'falls.' Cf. *always*.

L. 71. **Meroe**, an island of the Nile in Ethiopia, called 'Nilotic' from the Latin adjective *Niloticus*. Meroe being within the tropics, the sun at a certain time of the year is north of it, and makes shadows fall to the south at noon, and *vice versa*. Hence Pliny says that 'in Meroe bis anno *absumi umbras*,' i.e. twice a year (when the sun is vertical) no shadow falls.

L. 72. **Bocchus** was king of Mauritania and father-in-law of Jugurtha. **The Black-moor sea** ('Maura unda' in Horace, *Odes*, ii. 6, 3) is that part of the Mediterranean which washes Mauritania.

L. 73. The Parthians are purposely included among the nations who send embassies to Rome, to impress Jesus with the idea of Roman superiority, since he had refused an alliance with the rival power (*D.*) **These . . . Chersonese**. On the rime in blank verse, see ii. 61, n.

Ll. 74, 75. Ambassadors came from India to Augustus, but not from Taprobane (Ceylon), either to him or to Tiberius, and none ever came from the Golden Chersonese, or Malay peninsula (*K.*) Cf. *P. L.* xi. 392. Gibbon indeed asserts that Taprobane was not discovered till the reign of Claudius; but this must be an error, for Ovid, *Epist. ex Ponto*, i. 5, 80, has, 'Aut ubi *Taprobanen* Indica cingit aqua.' **Utmost** (= 'outmost,' A.-S. *ute-m-est*) represents Pliny's '*extra orbem relegata insula*.' Cf. Chapman, *Iliad*, ii. 438, '*utmost* Anthedon.'

L. 76. This line has been deservedly noticed as one of the most picturesque in English poetry. For **turbants** (Milton's own spelling), see Glossary.

L. 77. **Gades**, now Cadiz, was in Hispania Ulterior, and therefore represents the remoter parts of Spain.

L. 78. Germania extended from the Danube to the German Ocean. European Scythia lay east and north-east of this river, reaching along the Euxine to the Palus Mæotis, now the Sea of Azov. The Sarmatians, or Sauromatæ (Juvenal, *Sat.* ii. 1), extended northward as far as the Baltic, hence called Oceanus Sarmaticus. They were divided from Scythia by the Tanais or Don.

L. 79. **Pool**, perhaps from *Palus* Mæotis. Wiclif, in Luke v. 1, calls the Lake of Gennesaret a 'pool.'

L. 83. **Civility** = 'civilisation,' Lat. *civilitas*. Fuller, *Church Hist.* bk. ii., speaks of 'a nation not yet converted to *civility*.'

L. 84. The 'inconsistency' which Newton finds between this

remark and iii. 354, 374, is really a striking instance of Satan's artfulness. Jesus had refused to employ force or to form any political alliance whatever; yet the tempter affects to suppose that he had only declined a *Parthian* alliance. He therefore says in effect, 'You may reasonably prefer to ally yourself with Rome, and you will be doing a good work in freeing the Romans from the power of a wicked despot' (l. 102). Practically a Roman alliance would have been impossible, if Jesus were to be an independent king; yet Satan, whose only real object was to make him sin through ambition, scrupled not to recommend such an alliance, his former proposal having been rejected.

L. 90. Tiberius, now aged 72, had been in retirement at Capreæ for about three years. His foul crimes in this retreat are related (perhaps exaggerated) by Tacitus and Suetonius. The latter describes Capreæ as 'insula, septa undique præruptis immensæ altitudinis rupibus et profundo maris.'

L. 95. **A wicked favourite**, i.e. Sejanus, who had long enjoyed the entire confidence of the emperor, and now virtually governed Rome. His increasing ambition made Tiberius suspect him, and caused his ruin, for he was ignominiously put to death A.D. 31. See Juvenal's Tenth Satire, and Jonson's tragedy *Sejanus*, for a graphic description of his fall.

L. 101. Cf. *Comus*, 76, 'to roll with pleasure in a sensual *sty*.' Dunster cites Cicero, in *Pisonem*, 16, 'Epicure noster, ex *hara* producte.' Cf. also Hor. *Epist.* i. 4, 16, 'Epicuri de grege *porcum*.'

L. 102. There is a comma after 'victor' in the first edition, but it is removed in the Errata. Observe the contrast between 'victor' and 'servile,' and cf. l. 132.

L. 103. Luke iv. 6. Cf. l. 164.

L. 108. Cf. iii. 352, &c.

LA. 109-153. *Jesus, expressing his contempt for earthly grandeur and power, notices the vanity, luxury, and profligacy of the Romans. He will leave the emperor to the torments of his own conscience, nor will he aid in liberating a people who have deservedly lost their freedom by their own misconduct. His own kingdom shall come in its due time, and when it comes it shall admit no rival throughout the world.*

L. 114. Apicius under Tiberius, (ii. 347, n.) and the Emperor Vitellius, are famous instances of Roman gluttony.

L. 115. Tables of citron wood were highly prized by the Romans. They were beautifully veined and spotted (*N.*) Among the plunder of Verres in Sicily Cicero mentions 'pulcherrimam mensam citream.' The citron grew on Mount Atlas in Mauritania; hence some suppose that 'Atlantic stone' is the same thing under another name, as the veining of citron wood resembled marble. Newton takes it to mean actual marble, which the Romans called *Numidicus lapis*, and of which the floors of their banqueting-rooms were often made. The Aldine Edition suggests *ivory*, relying on Pliny's statement that the woods near Mount Atlas were searched for *citron and ivory*, and also on the fact that *θύον* and *ἐλεφάντινον* are often mentioned together. But *θύον* does not necessarily mean 'citron'; it is merely any fragrant wood burnt as incense, whence *θύος* = 'incense' and *θύω*, 'I sacrifice.' Pliny however does mention a kind of mineral ivory, which he calls a *stone*. On the whole, Newton's suggestion has perhaps the most in its favour, but the question is still a doubtful one.

L. 116. See note on ii. 182.

L. 117. **S Setia** in Latium (Martial, *Epigr.* xiii. 112), **Cales** (Hor. *Od.* iv. 12, 14), and the *Ager Falernus* in Campania (Virg. *Georg.* ii. 96) produced the choicest Italian wines. Of Greek wines the *Chian* (Hor. *Od.* iii. 19, 5) and the *Cretan* (Juvenal, *Sat.* xiv. 270) were most highly esteemed.

L. 119. 'Myrrhina et crystallina (pocula)' are mentioned by Pliny, Juvenal, and other Roman writers. From a line of Propertius,

'Murrheaque in Parthis pocula cocta focis,'

it has been thought that the 'myrrhine' was a very fine porcelain, which really came from China through Parthia (or Persia), but was supposed by the Romans to be of Parthian manufacture (*K.*) *Murrha* or *myrrha*, as the name of a mineral, is thought to be a distinct word from *myrrha*, the gum (our *myrrh*); but the Greek *μύρρα* represents both.

L. 120. Cups were commonly set with jewels. Cf. Cic. *in Verrem*, iv. 27, 'pocula ex auro, gemmis distincta clarissimis' (*D.*) In Juvenal's Fifth Satire a wealthy host is afraid lest his poorer guests should steal the jewels from the cups; wherefore

'custos affixus ibidem,

Qui numeret gemmas, unguis observet acutus.'

L. 125. **Outlandish**, in its original sense of 'foreign,' yet

involving the idea of 'extravagant' or 'far-fetched.' Fuller, *Church Hist.* i. 5, craves excuse for misprints in a quotation, on the ground that the work was 'done by an *outlandish* press.' Cf. Nehemiah xiii. 26, '*outlandish* women.' Lord Lytton, in *The Caxtons*, contrasts 'natural and English' with '*outlandish* and heretical.'

**Proceed'st.** For ellipse of pronoun, see i. 137, n.

L. 130. Cf. Tacitus, *Annal.* vi. 6. 'Quippe Tiberium non fortuna, non solitudines protegebant, *quin tormenta pectoris suasque ipse pœnas fateretur*' (*D.*); also Tiberius' own letter to the Senate from Capræ beginning thus:—'Quid scribam vobis . . . . . di me pejus perdant *quam ferire me quo i. ie sentio*, si scio.' ('What I am to write to you, may the gods visit me with a worse perdition than I feel daily upon me, if I know.')

L. 136. **Peeling**—'stripping' or 'robbing.' Cf. Isaiah xvii. 2. Perhaps another form of the word is *pill* (Gen. xxx. 37); but see Glossary. Milton, in his *Commonplace Book*, lately discovered (l. 322, n.), speaks of 'raïne and *pill*ing the people.' Cf. Shaksp. *Rich. II.* ii. 1: 'The commons hath he *pilled* with grievous taxes.' Henry of Huntingdon says that William Rufus '*pilled* and shaved the people with tribute.' See Glossary. Tiberius in his early days had said: '*boni pastoris esse tondere pecus, non deglubere*' ('a good shepherd ought to shear his sheep, not to *flay* them'). The conduct of such governors as Verres in Sicily, Piso in Macedonia, and Gabinius in Syria is notorious (*D.*)

L. 138. **Insulting vanity.** Cicero speaks of triumphs as *inania* and *delectamenta puerorum*. They were 'insulting not only to the vanquished, but to the victors also, since great license of ribaldry was allowed on these occasions. See Livy, iv. 53; v. 49.

L. 140. It is surprising that Milton should have omitted gladiatorial combats among the instances of Roman cruelty in their sports (Calton).

L. 142. **Scene**—'theatre,' Lat. *scenæ*. Mr. Browne supposes an allusion to the revival and subsequent corruption of the stage after the Restoration.

L. 145. In *P. L.* xii. 84-101, Milton expands this idea, showing that true liberty always dwells with 'right reason,' i.e. 'virtue'; and that if, through disobedience to this law, the 'inward liberty' be lost, God often deprives a nation of the 'outward liberty' also. The Prose Works are full of the same doctrine. See also iii. 49, n.

L. 147. Alluding to Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the 'tree,



whose height reached unto heaven, &c.' (Daniel iv. 11); also to the parable of the mustard seed (Matt. xiii. 32).

L. 149. For the stone which brake in pieces the image, in another dream of Nebuchadnezzar, see Dan. ii. 44 (*N.*)

L. 151. Cf. i. 241, n.

Ll. 154-194. *Satan, now desperate and affecting to enhance the value of his proffered gifts, declares that he will bestow them only on condition that Jesus will fall down and worship him. Our Saviour indignantly rebukes the tempter for his blasphemous proposal, reminding him that the kingdoms of the world were only his by usurpation, or at most by permission from the King of kings, whom alone it is commanded to worship.*

L. 155. **Slight** = 'slightly.' See on i. 203; also ii. 198, n.

L. 157. **Difficult**, Lat. *difficilis* (of persons), 'hard to please.' **Nice**, 'fastidious,' cf. *P. L.* v. 433. So in l. 377, 'nicely' = *fastidiously*. Shakspeare has 'thou nice crutch,' 2 *Hen. IV.* i. 1, 'she is nice and coy,' *Two Gent. of V.* iii. 1. Cf. Hall, *Satires*, iii. 1, 42, 'Men grew greedy discordous and nice.' The transition to 'pleasing' is seen in *P. L.* viii. 399, 'a nice and subtle happiness I see.' [Compare the meanings of *quaint* given in my note on *Lycidas*, 139.] For derivation see Glossary.

L. 158. **Still** = 'perpetually.' Cf. Ben Jonson, Song in the *Silent Woman*, 'Still to be neat, still to be dress,' &c.

Ll. 162-167. Luke iv. 5-7; Matt. iv. 9.

L. 164. Cf. l. 104.

L. 166. The idea is that of feudal homage to a liege lord (*K.*) So 'owe,' &c. in ii. 325.

L. 173. This line should be scanned with a pause upon 'terms,' equivalent to an additional half-foot. See Introduction, p. xlii.

L. 174. See i. 495. **Till which expired**, cf. i. 3, n.

L. 176. Matt. iv. 10; also xxii. 38.

L. 181. **Blasphemous**, as in *P. L.* v. 809, vi. 360. The adjective (but not the noun *blasphemy*) was usually so accented in Milton's time, in accordance with the Greek (βλάσφημος).

L. 184. **Donation** = 'conditions of gift,' Lat. *donatio*. Cf. *P. L.* xii. 69. So generally in Shakspeare; but in the *Tempest*, iv. 1, we read 'some donation freely to estate [settle] on the blest lovers,' nearly in the modern sense of 'gift.'

II. 185, 186. 1 Timothy vi. 15; Rom. ix. 5. In the *Chr. Doct.* ch. v., Milton inclines to refer the latter text to the Father, not to the Son.

L. 187. Compare the words of the lady in *Comus*, 775.

L. 190. **As offer** = 'as to offer,' something like 'returning were as tedious as (to) go o'er,' in *Macbeth*, iii. 42. See Abbott, *Sh. Gr.* § 382, &c.

L. 194. Three names are applied to the Arch-fiend in Scripture—ὁ πονηρὸς 'the evil one, *Satan*, or 'Adversary,' and ὁ διάβολος, 'the Accuser' (Todd). See also l. 203.

LI. 194-284. *Satan, abashed, tries to justify himself; he then assumes a new ground of temptation, and proposing to Jesus the intellectual gratifications of wisdom and knowledge, shews him Athens, the seat of ancient learning, its schools and other resorts of learned teachers and their disciples. After a splendid panegyric on the musicians, poets, orators, and philosophers of Greece, he bids Jesus learn from them the knowledge that best befits a king.*

L. 198. See II. 515-520, and note on i. 91.

L. 201. **Tetrarchs**, because they were supposed to preside over the *four* elements. See ii. 122, n. Fuller, in his *Holy State*, calls fire 'one of the *tetrarch* elements.' But the term came to be used of any governor, like *tetrarches*, Hor. *Sat.* i. 3, 12.

L. 202. **Quartered**, i.e. 'assigned to their several quarters.' **Winds** = 'regions,' whence the winds blow, as in Matt. xxiv. 31.

L. 203. **God of this world**, 2 Cor. iv. 4, also John xii. 31. For the 'powers of air' and identification of heathen gods with the fallen angels, see on i. 44; ii. 188, n.

L. 206. **Endamaged**. Cf. *Two Gent. of V.* iii. 2, 'Your slanders never can *endamage* him;' Spenser, *F. Q.* ii. 2, 160, 'Ne aught he cared whom he *endamaged*.'

L. 216. An artful version of the statement in Luke ii. 43, 'the child Jesus *tarried behind* in Jerusalem.'

L. 218. **Disputant**, the Latin participle. Cf. 'president,' i. 447. So 'Church *militant*,' &c. We now generally use these forms in *-ant* or *-ent* as nouns and adjectives.

L. 219. **Moses' chair**, Matt. xxiii. 2, from Exodus xviii. 13. *Chair* = place whence instruction is given, just as we now speak of a Professor's 'chair.' Compare the phrase *ex cathedra*.

L. 220. **Teaching, not taught**. This is not true; see i.

213, n. In the Arabic *Gospel of the Infancy* Jesus is said to have examined the Rabbies, and expounded to them abstruse points in physics, astrology, and all manner of science. For the proverb 'the child is father of the man,' see Wordsworth's poem, beginning 'My heart leaps up when I behold A rainbow in the sky.'

L. 223. **Let extend thy mind.** Cf. iii. 171, n.

L. 228. **To admiration** = 'admirably' (*P. L.* ix. 872), nearly = French *à merveille*. So we say 'to perfection,' &c. Cf. the Greek *πρός*, as in *πρός ἡδονήν* = *ἡδέως*, &c.

L. 230. **By persuasion, &c.** Cf. i. 223. But Jesus had proposed moral, not intellectual 'persuasion.' See Introduction, p. xxxiv.

L. 234. **Idolisms** seems to be a word of Milton's own coining (see l. 66, n.) It means 'vain opinions,' 'fancies,' from *εἰδωλον*, 'a phantom' of the mind. Perhaps there is reference to Bacon's *idola* or prejudices of the human mind, as opposed to divine realities (*K.*) **Traditions**, opinions handed down through their disciples from those philosophers who did not commit their precepts to writing. **Paradoxes** (*θέσεις*) were propositions involving an apparent absurdity; such as the famous one of Gorgias, 'Nothing exists, or if anything does exist, it cannot be known;' or that of Socrates, 'All men desire the good, therefore incontinence is impossible;' or that of the Stoics asserting that health, wealth, &c. are not good, and that virtue is in itself sufficient for happiness, independently of external conditions.

L. 235. **His.** See on iii. 255. **Evinced**, 'overcome,' Lat. *vincere*. See iii. 3, n. So in *Hudibras*, ii. 2, 382:—

'These reasons may perhaps look oddly  
To the wicked, though they *evince* the godly.'

L. 236. **Specular mount**, i.e. 'mount of observation,' Lat. *specula*, Greek *σκοπή*, as in Hom. *Od.* x. 148, 'a look-out place.' Cf. 'this top of *speculation*,' *P. L.* xii. 588.

L. 237. 'The latitude of Athens is four degrees southward of that of Rome' (*D.*)

L. 239. **Built nobly.** Homer, *Il.* ii. 546, calls Athens *εὐκτίμενον πτολίεθρον*, 'a well-built city' (*N.*) Cf. Soph. *Electra*, 707, 'Ἀθηνῶν τῶν θεοδμήτων ἄπο. **Pure the air.** Euripides, in a celebrated patriotic chorus of the *Medea*, 829, describes his countrymen as *ἀεὶ διὰ λαμπροτάτου βαίνοντες ἀβρῶς αἰθέρος* ('ever stepping delicately through purest, brightest air'). **Light the soil**, *λεπτογῶς*, Thuc.

i. 2. He ascribes to this cause the fact that Attica was generally ἀστασίαστος, i.e. free from those internal commotions which disturbed the richer states of Greece.

L. 240. **Eye of Greece.** The simile is natural and common. Cicero, *pro Lege Manilia*, v., speaks of Corinth as 'totius Græciæ lumen'; Edinburgh is called 'Britain's other eye' by B. Jonson, and Giles Fletcher designates the universities 'the two eyes of this land' (*D.*) The exact phrase 'eye of Greece,' as applied to Athens, has not been found in any Greek writer. Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, iii. 10, 7, quotes from the orator Leptines the words, οὐκ ἔαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐτερόφθαλμον γενομένην, i.e. that the Athenians 'should not suffer Greece to become one-eyed,' by destroying Sparta, which was the other eye. The saying is also ascribed to a Spartan at the meeting of the Peloponnesian confederacy, B.C. 404, when the allies urged the destruction of Athens.

L. 241. **Wits**, i.e. 'wise men,' from *wit* = 'know.' Cf. *As you Like It*, i. 2, 'the dulness of the fool is the whetstone of the wits.' The adj. *witty* has likewise degenerated, but once meant 'wise,' e.g. 'witty inventions,' Prov. viii. 12; 'I was a witty child,' Wisdom iii. 19. In the *Areopagitica* Milton speaks of 'Athens where books and wits were busier than in any other part of Greece.' For various uses of 'wit' see Pope's *Essay on Criticism*.

L. 242. Athens did not repel strangers, as Sparta did (by ξενολάσσαι), but welcomed them always, and gave them the benefit of her instruction. Hence Pericles, in the celebrated Funeral Oration (Thuc. ii. 39, 41) boasts that Athens is 'the school (παιδεύουσιν) of Greece,' not excluding strangers, but throwing open her city to all alike (ἦν πόλιν κοινὴν παρέχουσαν, &c.) **Recess.** Lat. *recessus*, 'place of retirement.' So in *P. L.* ix. 456, Eve's bower is called her 'sweet recess.'

L. 244. The *Academy* was a grove sacred to Academus, an ancient Attic hero, about a mile out of Athens to the N.W. Here Plato taught, whence his disciples were called 'Academics' (l. 278). Plutarch says it was 'the best wooded of all the suburbs' (δενδροφορωτάτην προαστείαν). The trees were chiefly olive and plane. Cf. Aristoph. *Clouds*, 1005, ἀλλ' εἰς Ἀκαδημείαν κατιῶν ὑπὸ ταῖς μορίαις ἀποθρεξ-αι. (For this and the other places mentioned see Plan of Athens.) It should be remembered that Milton never visited Greece, having been recalled from Italy in 1638, before he had finished his tour. All this description is therefore the result of accurate reading combined with a vivid realisation of the localities.

There is a fine passage on the ancient glories of Athens, 'a praise without end,' in a Chorus of Mr. Swinburne's *Erechtheus*, ll. 124-150.

L. 245. **The Attic bird** is the nightingale, called *Atthis* by Martial, *Epigr.* i. 46. *Philomela* was the legendary daughter of Pandion, king of Athens. Nightingales abounded in this district, hence Sophocles, *Œdipus Col.* 670, says of Colonus (near the Academy) εἰθ' ἂν λίγεια μινύρεται θαμίζουσα μάλιστ' ἀηδων ('where the clear-voiced nightingale in fullest concert mourneth').

L. 246. 'Though the nightingale does not sing 'the summer long,' it may be (as Dunster observes) that Milton intended a special compliment to 'Plato's retirement,' by making her do so.

L. 247. **Hymettus**, 'semper florens' (Ovid, *Met.* vii. 701), was famed for its honey. Wordsworth, in his *Greece, &c.* notes it as the best place for a view of Athens. See Plan.

L. 249. The Ilissus rises on Mount Hymettus, and flowing through the S.E. quarter of Athens reaches the sea between the harbours of Phalerum and Piræus. Plato's *Phædrus*, whose scene is laid on its banks, opens with a charming description of the pleasantness of the spot.

L. 250. **Whispering stream.** Cf. *Lycidas*, 136. Tennyson, *Gardener's Daughter*, 261, has 'whispering rain.' So the Lat. *susurrus* is used both of wind and water. For **his**, see iii. 255, n.

L. 251. **His who bred, &c.** i.e. *Lycæum* (l. 253) the school of Aristotle, tutor to Alexander. It was really outside the city walls, as Plato expressly says in the *Lysis*. **Painted Stoa** (στοὰ ποικίλη), the 'Stoic' school of Zeno. This portico was adorned with frescoes by Polygnotus.

L. 254. **There**, i.e. at Athens, not in the Stoa specially (Masson).

L. 255. **Harmony** (ἁρμονία) = 'melody' or a well-ordered succession of sounds. The Greeks had no 'harmony' of voices or instruments in *score*. The study of the various 'tones' (or 'scales'), from their supposed *ethical* influence, formed an important part of education. (Plato, *Rep.* iii. 10; Arist. *Polit.* viii. 7.) Cf. *Arcades*, 74, 'If my inferior *hand or voice could hit* Inimitable sounds' (*D.*)

L. 257. **Æolian charms.** Alcæus and Sappho wrote in the Æolic dialect. **Charms** here = 'odes,' Lat. *carmina*. Cf. Hor. *Od.* iv. 3, 12. **Dorian lyric odes** are those of Pindar, who wrote in the Doric dialect.

L. 258. Homer is here regarded as the father of all kinds of poetry, not only of the 'higher' epic, or heroic kind (*N.*)

L. 259. **Melesigenes** is a name given to Homer from his traditional birthplace near the river Meles, which flows by Smyrna. Near its source is a cave in which he was supposed to have composed his poetry. It is said that he afterwards lived at Cyme in Æolia, and there got the name 'Ομηρος, which meant 'blind' in that dialect. **Thence**, 'afterwards.' Cf. ἐντεῦθεν, *inde*.

L. 260. In a line of the Greek *Anthology*, Phœbus is made to say, ἤειδον μὲν ἐγὼν, ἐλάσασσε δὲ θεῖος Ὀμηρος ('I sang the strain, but divine Homer wrote it down').

L. 261. Tragedy is characterised by Quintilian as 'lofty and grave,' and Ovid speaks of the tragic buskin as '*gravis* cothurnus' (*D.*) Cf. *Il Penseroso*, l. 97, &c., and the discourse on Tragedy prefixed to *Samson Agonistes*.

L. 262. The Chorus was the original germ of the Greek drama. Its function was to point the moral of the play, and give advice when needed (*Hor. A. P.* 196-201). The dialogue was mostly in iambic verse.

L. 264. **Sententious precepts.** Quintilian calls Euripides 'sententiis densus' (*D.*) In the *Frogs* of Aristophanes, l. 942, &c., Euripides takes credit for having improved the tragic Muse by adding, 'sententious phrases strained from moral treatises.' Moral maxims (γνώμαι) abound in Greek tragedy, and were relished by the audience without being thought dull.

L. 265. The plot usually turned upon the accomplishment of some decree of *fate* (μοῖρα). Fortune or *chance* (τύχη) brought about the necessary incidents, and the consequent *change* or reversal of fortune (περιπέτεια) formed the catastrophe. All this is clearly illustrated in the story of *Œdipus* (*D.*)

L. 266. Aristotle, *Poetic.* iv. says that 'the graver [poets] imitated noble actions.' He describes tragedy as 'not only the imitation of a perfect action, but also of such as are terrible and piteous;' hence 'passion' (πάθος) is an essential. His definition of tragedy as μίμησις πράξεως σπουδαίας is the motto of the discourse prefixed to *Samson Agonistes*.

L. 269. **Wielded**, 'governed,' A.-S. *wealdan*, as in *Bretwalda*, &c. Cf. Sackville's *Gorboduc*, ii. 1, 'worthy to wield a large and mighty realm.' **Democracy**, from δημοκρατία, Fr. *démocratie*. So *aristocratie* in Speed. The forms *democracy*, &c. perhaps arose from a confusion with such words as *fallacy*, from *fallacia*, &c.

L. 270. **Shook the arsenal**, i.e. made, as it were, the arms in the armoury to clatter, as if eager for war. Cf. *πόταγος τῶν ἀσπίδων*, Ar. *Ach.* 539; also the lines in Wordsworth's *Brougham Castle*, 'Armour rusting in his halls . . . the longing of the shield.' **Fulmined, &c.** is from the same passage of Aristophanes, l. 531, where it is said of Pericles, *ἡστραπτ', ἐβρόντα, ξυνεκύκα την Ἑλλάδα*. Cicero, *ad Atticum*, xv. 1, speaks of *Δημοσθένους fulmina*, in allusion to his 'Philippics,' or orations against Philip.

L. 273. Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* v. 4, says, 'Socrates primus philosophiam *devocavit e caelo*,' though not in the sense which Milton here intends. **Low roofed house**, cf. Xen. *Economicus*, ch. ii., where Socrates values his house, goods and all, at five *mina*, or something under 20*l.* Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 92, calls it an *οἰκίδιον* or 'small house' (N.)

L. 275. See Plato, *Apologia Socratis*, ch. v. The words of the oracle were 'Ἀνδρῶν ἀπάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτατος, explained to mean that he knew his own ignorance, while others did not. See l. 293, n.

Ll. 276-280. Cicero and Quintilian call Socrates the 'fountain' of philosophy. This he was both by the impulse he gave to ethics and dialectics generally, and also because the later philosophic schools were directly descended from him. His disciple Plato founded the *Old Academy*, whence followed the *Middle Academy*, founded by Arcesilaus, and the *New* by Carneades. The *Peripatetics* (so called from the *περίπατοι* or 'walks' of the Lyceum) were followers of Aristotle, himself a disciple of Plato. Epicurus owed his system to the *Cyrenaics* founded by Aristippus, and Zeno the Stoic owed his to the *Cynic* school of Antisthenes, both pupils of Socrates.

L. 281. **Revolve.** See on i. 185.

L. 283. Satan here partly adopts the sentiments of Jesus himself, ii. 466. It was a favourite Stoic maxim that 'the wise man is ever a king.' Cf. Hor. *Sat.* i. 3, 124.

Ll. 285-364. *Jesus replies that the boasted systems of heathen philosophy are but vain and misleading, the semblance of wisdom without reality. He maintains that Greek poetry is at best an unworthy imitation of the inspired utterances of Hebrew bards, and that the lessons of political wisdom are better taught in the law and prophets of his nation than in 'all the oratory of Greece and Rome.'*

L. 289. James i. 17. Milton held this belief very strongly

(cf. i. 12, n.) In the *Chr. Doct.* ch. xxx. his final test even of the truth of Scripture is 'the inward persuasion of the Spirit working in the hearts of individual believers.' And in the treatise of *Civil Powers*, he makes Scripture 'the final judge or rule in matters of religion, and that only in the conscience of every Christian to himself.'

L. 291, &c. For a criticism of the views here expressed, see Introduction, p. xxxiv., &c.

L. 293. This was Socrates' own explanation of the oracle (l. 275). But the real object of Socrates was to merge his personal superiority in that of his method; thus he hoped to lead men to the attainment of truth.

L. 295. **The next**, i.e. Plato, whom Milton, in his poem *Idea Platonica*, calls 'fabulator maximus,' remarking upon his inconsistency in banishing poets from his Republic, when he himself made so much use of the myth in his Dialogues. But Plato proposed to banish only such fictions as were mischievous and immoral, and to substitute new and purer ones; regarding the myth itself as an indispensable vehicle of instruction. **Conceits**, from the Italian *concetto*, used of any subtle effort of the imagination. In Chapman's Homer, *Il.* ix. 185, 'conceited' = 'curiously wrought.'

L. 296. **A third sort**, Pyrrho and the Sceptics. Milton seems to follow Diogenes Laertius, who gives what is little better than a caricature of Pyrrho's real system. What Pyrrho asserted was the liability of the senses to error, and the consequent impossibility of deriving *certain* conclusions from them.

L. 297. The Peripatetics (l. 279) developed Aristotle's doctrine that man's chief end is happiness (*εὐδαιμονία*), to attain which one must have the highest excellence (*ἀρετή*) combined with perfect external conditions. These he describes as *βίος τέλειος*, 'a perfect course of life,' which includes both *good fortunes* and *duration*; for 'as one swallow makes not a summer, so neither one day nor a short time constitutes a happy man' (Arist. *Ethics*, i. 7).

L. 299. **He** is 'contemptuously emphatic' (D.) Epicurus defined the end or chief good to be 'a whole life's blessedness' (*ἡ τοῦ ὅλου βίου μακαριότης*). It was to consist in *ἀταραξία*, or perfect tranquillity of mind, joined with perfect bodily health, but based on *φρόνησις* or practical wisdom. 'Life,' he said, 'cannot be pleasurable, except it be also wise and honourable and just, nor, having these conditions, can it fail to be pleasurable.' But the later



Epicureans debased their master's ideal life to one of mere sensual enjoyment ; a result which was sure to follow from a popular application of a doctrine which made *pleasure*, even of the highest kind, the chief object of existence.

L. 300. Observe the stately metre of this line, introducing the 'Stoic pride.' Milton's picture of the Stoic is undoubtedly just ; he describes him more at length, because the superior morality of his system, wherein much truth was mingled with error, added speciousness to his pretensions, which therefore required a minuter examination (*D.*) The Stoic belief in the perfectibility of human nature, whence τὸ κατ' ἀρετὴν ζῆν ('life according to virtue') was identified with τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ('according to nature'), engendered arrogance and presumption ; and their avowed contempt for the body was in direct contrast with the practice and teaching of Jesus (*Matt.* vi. 32 ; ix. 15 ; *Luke* vii. 34).

L. 302. 'Sapientes semper feliciter, *absolute*, fortunate vivere,' is the conclusion of Cato in his summary of the Stoic system. Cf. *Cic. de Finibus*, iii. 7 (*D.*)

L.l. 302, 303. The construction is doubtful ; with the comma after 'possessing' it would be—'shames not to prefer (i.e. 'put forward') his virtuous man, &c. as equal to God.' But we have adopted the pointing of the first edition, i.e. 'he shames not to prefer [to God] his virtuous man, who is wise, &c., and possesses all things in an equal degree to God.' Thus, Seneca, *Ep.* 92, says of the virtuous man, 'deorum ritu cuncta possideat.' In the 53rd Epistle he even asserts, 'est aliquid quo sapiens *antecedat* deum.' **Shames**, intrans., as in *Macbeth*, ii. 2, 'I *shame* to wear a breast so white,' and elsewhere. In his *Commonplace Book*, p. 181, Milton says of a good king, 'counsels unjust he *shames* not to reverse.'

L. 305. Dunster gives a long quotation from Seneca, which describes God as exhorting men to despise poverty, pain, fortune, and even death ; and not to remain in this life longer than they list—'*patet exitus ; si pugnare non vultis licet fugere.*'

L. 308. Cf. *Cic. de Finibus*, iii. 1, 'Stoicorum non ignoras quam sit *subtile* ('fine-spun'), vel spinosum potius, disserendi genus' (*D.*)

L. 312. Cf. iii. 134, &c.

L. 313. **Much of the soul they talk, &c.**, e.g. the Pythagorean doctrine of Transmigration, and the theory of

Chrysippus that souls were absorbed into the *Anima Mundi*, or Soul of the Universe. Others taught that the soul was 'a part of God,' and argued that there would be no future punishment of sins, because the soul, being incorporeal, was incapable of being punished. **Awry.** lit. *perverse*, 'distorted,' lit. 'on the wry,' i.e. 'writhe' or 'twisted aside.' So *wrong* = 'wrung' out of the right direction. Cf. Shakspeare, *2 Hen. VI.* ii. 4, 'thou aimest all awry;' Bp. Hall, *Temptation Repelled*, 'to draw the weak sinner awry.'

L. 314. Warburton quotes from Cicero, *de Natura Deorum*, to the following effect: 'For our virtue we are justly praised, in virtue we rightly make our boast; which would not be the case, if this gift were of God, not of ourselves . . . This is the judgment of all men, that while we may seek our fortune from God, *wisdom* (i.e. virtue) each man derives from himself.'

L. 316. In the *Christian Doctrine*, ch. iv. Milton says that those who charge the fault of their own wickedness on God's decrees, 'do in effect impugn the justice of God, and might justly be reproved in the words of the heathen Homer—

ὦ πόποι, ὅσον δὴ νῦν θεοὺς βρότοι αἰτιώωνται, &c. (*Odys.* i. 32).

Cf. *Comus*, 588, 'that power which erring men call *chance*.' The Stoics especially gave these names to the Deity, e.g. Seneca, *de Beneficiis*, iv. 8, 'sic hunc (i.e. 'God') naturam vocas, *fatum*, *fortunam*; omnia ejusdem Dei nomina sunt' (*D.*)

L. 317. Zeno held that man was the care of Heaven only in such a sense as the celestial orbs are (Warburton, *Divine Legation*). Cf. Cic. *de Nat. Deorum*, iii. 39, 'non curat [deus] singulos homines . . . ne nationes quidem.' Aristotle (*Ethics*, x. 13) argues that the life of God cannot be other than one of *contemplation* (θεωρία); elsewhere he defines it as νόησις νοήσεως, 'thinking upon thought.' He denies moral virtue to be an attribute of God, and treats the notion of God caring for mortals as at best uncertain (*Ethics*, x. 8).

L. 321. **An empty cloud**, in allusion to the fable of Ixion. **Many books**, &c. Cf. Eccles. xii. 12. Dunster quotes Pliny *Epist.* viii. 9, '*multum* legendum esse, non *multa*;' Seneca, *Epist.* ii., 'distrahit animum librorum multitudo,' and other similar sayings.

L. 322. How consistently Milton practised what he here enjoins may be seen from his newly discovered *Commonplace Book*. This is no mere collection of extracts, but (to quote from

the Editor's Preface) 'the written thoughts of other authors were used by him as mental food to be digested and assimilated, and at fit times to be reproduced.' Cf. *P. L.* vii. 126-130. In the *Reason of Church Government* he is severe on those 'whose learning lies in marginal stuffings,' and whose 'day's work is done, when they have, like good sumpters, laid ye down their horse-loads of citations at your door.'

L. 324. For the metre, see Introduction, p. xxxviii. **Spirit** in one syllable. Cf. i. 8, n.

L. 328. **Intoxicate**. See on l. 34, i. 180, 385. **Toys**. See Glossary and note on ii. 177.

L. 329. **For** = 'taking them for' (*K.*) **Worth a sponge**. Generally explained to mean 'deserving to be obliterated,' as in the *Areopagitica*, where Milton puts the alternative of 'the press or the sponge.' Cf. *Æsch. Agamemnon*, 1329. *βολαῖς ὑγρῶσσων σπόγγος ὠλεσεν γραφήν* ('a wet sponge by its application effaces the picture'). But the context, 'toys and trifles, &c.,' seems to favour the interpretation that 'sponge' = a thing of little value; thus Augustus is said to have amused himself at the Saturnalia by throwing 'sponges and other worthless things' among the crowd (*D.*)

L. 330. Prof. Masson quotes the famous saying of Sir Isaac Newton that he was like a child gathering pebbles on the shore, while the ocean of truth lay beyond him.

L. 334. **Strewed &c.** Poems and poetical fragments are interspersed in the Scripture narrative; e.g. the Song of Lamech (Gen. iv. 33), the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. xlix) of Moses (Deut. xxxii), the Song of Deborah (Judges v.), the Prayer of Hezekiah (Isaiah xxxiii), and many more.

L. 335. **Artful** = 'technical,' in reference to the headings of certain psalms, as *Maschil*, *Michtam*, *on Neginoth*, *Alamoth*, &c.

L. 336. Psalm cxxxvi. 3.

L. 338. Milton here adopts a favourite theory of the time. In 1657 Zachary Bogan published his *Homerus Hebraison*, a collection of more than 2000 passages in Homer, compared with similar ones in the Bible; e.g. *Od.* xix. 596 (εὐνή) δάκρυσ' ἑμοῖσι πεφυρμένη with Psalm vi. 6; *Il.* xiv. 185, λαμρὸν δ' ἦν ἥελιος ὥς, with Matt. xvii. 2, and a vast number of such absurdities.

L. 341. **Personating**, probably = 'celebrating;' from Lat. *personare*, 'to resound.' Or, if 'fable' means a play (*fabula*), the allusion may be to stage representations of Apollo, Heracles, &c.

in the Greek drama. Todd quotes a passage from Prynne's *Histriomastix*, in which he censures 'the acting and *personating* of heathen deities . . . the varnishing of them with fresh and lively colours in our stage plays.'

L. 343. **Swelling epithets**, Greek compounds, like *νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς, ἐκήβολος Ἀπόλλων*, &c., which abound in Homer. (Warburton.)

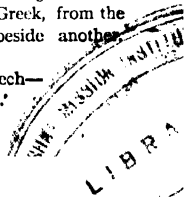
L. 346. **Far**, transferred from its proper place before 'unworthy.' For this common transposition of adverbs, see Abbott's *Shaksp. Gram.* §§ 420, 421. In the *Reason of Church Government* (1641) Milton had said that 'those frequent songs throughout the law and the prophets . . . may easily be made appear over all the kinds of lyric poesy to be incomparable' (*N.*) Yet he does not there depreciate Greek literature as worthless, but mentions Pindar and others as models for imitation; allowing moreover that 'these abilities, *wheresoever they be found*, are the inspired gift of God, rarely bestowed, but yet to some *in every nation*.'

Ll. 347-352. The sense is best cleared by taking the words 'to all true tastes—saints' as a parenthesis, followed by a second in l. 350. This connects unless, &c. (l. 351) with 'unworthy to compare' (l. 346), i.e. 'the only parts of the classics which will bear comparison with the Songs of Sion are the moral passages' (*K.*) There is a similar construction in Romans ii. 12-16, where the parenthesis in vv. 13-15 contains another in vv. 14, 15.

L. 354. **The top**, i.e. the 'perfection,' Lat. *summa*. Cf. *Tempest*, iii. 1, 'the *top* of admiration;' *Measure for Measure*, ii. 2, 'the *top* of judgment;' Chapman, *Iliad*, v. 901, 'in *top* of all his state.' **Statists** (also in the *Areopagitica*) = 'statesmen.' Newton quotes from *Cymbeline*, ii. 5, '*statist* though I am none.' Cf. Jonson, *Magnetic Lady*, i. 1, 'he will screw you out a secret from a *statist*.' Fuller, *Church Hist.* Bk. ix., uses the verb '*statizing*' for meddling in politics. Chapman has '*martialist*,' and even '*Priamist*' for son of Priam.

L. 356. **To** = 'compared to,' as in *P. L.* xi. 283, '*to this* [world] obscure and wild.' So *παρά* and *πρός* in Greek, from the notion of one thing brought near and put beside another. **Divinely**. See on i. 26.

L. 362. Cf. Hor. *Epist.* i. 6, translated by Creech—  
'To make men happy, and to keep them so.'  
Also Prov. xiv. 34 (*D.*)



Ll. 365-397. *Satan, irritated at the failure of all his attempts, upbraids Jesus for indiscretion in rejecting the offered aid; then having, in ridicule of his expected kingdom, foretold the trials that awaited him, he carries him back to the wilderness.*

L. 366. Ephesians vi. 16.

L. 371. **Tended on** = 'attended;' often in Shakspeare, e.g. *Hamlet*, iii. 2, 'hitherto doth love on fortune tend.'

L. 377. **Nicely**. See on l. 157.

L. 380. **Fulness of time**. Galatians iv. 4. Cf. iii. 182, 396.

L. 382. **Contrary**, adv. as in *P. L.* x. 506, 'when *contrary* he hears,' &c.

L. 383. Newton thinks that Milton intends to throw discredit upon the then fashionable science of astrology, by making Satan patronise it. But Keightley properly notices the fact that Milton himself was not free from this weakness, since he ascribes astrological 'influences' to the heavenly bodies in *P. L.* x. 656.

L. 384. **Voluminous**, i.e. in the 'volumes,' or books of the stars. **Characters** = 'planets,' each being denoted by a 'character' or sign, as ♂ ♀, &c.

L. 385. **Spell**, i.e. 'read their meaning,' by putting them together, like letters in a word. Dunster cites *Il Penseroso*, 170, 'When I may sit and rightly *spell* Of every star.' See Glossary.

L. 387. **Attends**, the reading of the first edition, is an instance of the common Elizabethan construction, by which a verb agrees in number with its nearest noun; e.g. *Cymbeline*, iii. 6, 'Plenty and peace *breeds* cowards.' For examples, see Abbott, *Sh. Gram.* § 336, and my note on *Lycidas*, 7. **Injuries** = 'insults.' So the Fr. *injurer*, *injurier*, though the Lat. *injuria* usually denotes unjust *action*. Cf. *Cymbeline*, iv. 2, 'thou *injurious* (i.e. 'insolent') thief;' Marlowe, *Faustus*, iv. i., 'the *injury* he offered me.'

L. 392. [So] **without beginning**. Satan says sarcastically that Christ's kingdom will certainly 'have one of the properties of eternity, that of *never beginning*' (*D.*)

L. 393. **Rubric** = 'calendar,' since the chief festivals, each with date prefixed, were printed in red. Now 'rubric' means the directions for performing the service, which are also thus printed.

I.1. 397-438. *Night in the desert.* *Jesus retires to rest, but Satan raises a tremendous storm, and further disturbs his sleep with frightful dreams and hellish spectres; these however do not alarm him. A calm bright morning succeeds to the horrors of the night.*

L. 395. **Expired.** See note on i. 124.

L. 399. In Hesiod, *Theogonia*, 123, Erebus (Darkness) and Night are both the offspring of Chaos. But the myth varied, Night being sometimes the mother, sometimes the child of Darkness.

L. 400. Aristotle, *de Anima*, Bk. ii., describes darkness as the *στέρησις* or 'privation' of light (*D.*) But, as Warburton observes, Milton's 'philosophy is here ill-placed. It dashes out the image he had just been painting.'

L. 402. **Jaunt**, now rather colloquial, but words lose their dignity, e.g. *pate, brat, tinsel*, &c. See Trench, *English Past and Present*, p. 194. 'Jaunt' is here expressive, as it means a wild and tiring excursion, from the Fr. *jauncer*, 'to jolt,' whence the other form *jaunce*. Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, ii. 5, 'What a *jaunt* I have had.' **Hurried** (akin to H. G. *hurtig*) expresses rapid motion through the air, like Lat. *raptus*. Todd quotes Ode on *The Passion*, l. 50, '*hurried* on viewless wing.'

L. 404. **Wherever**, sc. 'it might be.' See note on 'whatever,' iii. 213.

L. 406. **From dews.** Cf. i. 306, and note.

L. 407. Cf. *P. L.* iv. 800, where Satan, 'squat like a toad' at Eve's ear, disturbs her sleep.

L. 409. **Either tropic**, i.e. north and south. **Both ends**, &c. are the east and west, where the sun rises and sets (*N.*) It is 'a poetical tempest,' like that in Virgil, *Æn.* i. 84, &c., where all the winds blow at once (Jortin). The devils raise a similar storm in Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*, vii. 114.

L. 410. **Gan**, not '*gan*.' See Glossary. Some editors have altered the original punctuation by putting the stop after 'heaven.' But the ellipse of a preposition ('*from* both ends,' &c.) is common, and a pause after 'thunder' improves the rhythm.

L. 411. **Rift**; cf. '*abruptis nubibus*,' Virg. *Æn.* iii. 197. **Abortive**, i.e. 'unproductive,' except of mischief. Yet compare l. 435.

L. 412. **Ruin** = 'downfall,' as in *P. L.* i. 46. Cf. 'cœli ruina,' Virg. *Æn.* i. 129. But there is a further idea of the two hostile elements combining to do harm, as Æschylus, *Agam.* 650, says of a destructive storm at sea—

συνώμοσαν γὰρ, ὄντες ἔχθιστοι τὸ πρῖν,  
πῦρ καὶ θάλασσα. (Thyer).

L. 414. **Stony caves**, the prison of the winds, guarded by Æolus (Virg. *Æn.* i. 521).

L. 415. **Hinges**, an over-literal rendering of *cardinal*, from *cardo*, a 'hinge' or 'turning point,' on which a thing depends. Hence the 'cardinal points' are the four *chief* points of the compass.

L. 416. **Vexed** = 'shattered,' from Lat. *vexare*, which is often used of the effects of a storm, as in Hor. *Od.* ii. 9, 3. Cf. *P. L.* i. 306; iii. 429; Shaksp. *Tempest*, i. 2, 'the still vexed Bermoothes;' *K. Lear*, iv. 4, 'the vexed sea' (*D.*)

L. 417. From Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 291, of an oak, 'quæ, quantum vertice ad auras Ætherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit.'

L. 418. **Loaden**, a strong past part. of *load*, instead of *loaded*. Cf. *P. L.* iv. 147; viii. 307; Isaiah xli. 1. *Load* is a later variant of *lade*, A.-S. *hladan*, Icel. *hlada*.

L. 419. **Sheer**, cf. *P. L.* i. 742; vi. 324, 'in half cut sheer.' **Shrouded** = 'sheltered.' Cf. *Comus*, 147, 316; *Love's L. Lost*, iv. 3, 'shrouded in this bush.' For derivation of both words, see Glossary.

L. 420. **Only** = 'alone,' as in Shaksp. *Lucrece*, 1798, 'she was only mine.'

L. 421. **Terror**, i.e. 'cause of fright,' as in Psalm xci. 5, which some have interpreted demons of the darkness. Eusebius says that Jesus was surrounded during his temptation by malignant spirits (Calton).

L. 423. So in Tasso's *Ger. Lib.* xvi. st. 67, Amida's attendant demons are said to utter 'sibili ed urlì e fremiti e latrati' (*D.*)

L. 427. **With pilgrim steps**, i.e. with slow and solemn pace (*N.*) **Amice**, Lat. *amictus*, 'dress' (especially a linen vestment covering the priest's shoulders at mass). Cf. Spenser, *F. Q.* i. 4, 18, 'arayd in habit black and amis thin.' For the 'gray morn,' cf. *Lycidas*, 187; *Il Penseroso*, 122, where 'civil-suited,' means drest in *gray*, like a respectable citizen.

L. 428. **Radiant finger**, a reminiscence, but no servile imitation, of Homer's *ροδοδακτύλος ἥως*, 'rosy-fingered Morn.'

L. 429. **Chased the clouds**, 'collectasque fugat nubes,' in Virgil, *Æn.* i. 143, part of the storm passage referred to in note on l. 412. **Laid the winds**. Cf. *P. L.* i. 172; '*ponere freta*' in Horace, *Od.* i. 3, 15; '*venti posuere*,' Virg. *Æn.* vii. 27. For 'laying' the spectres, cf. *Comus*, 434. Ghosts were supposed to disappear at daybreak. See *Nativity Hymn*, 232; *Hamlet*, i. 5., *M. N. Dream*, iii. 2.

L. 430. **Grisly**. See Glossary.

Ll. 432-438. 'There is in this description all the bloom of Milton's youthful fancy' (Thyer). The commentators quote similar passages from other poets, but this needs no parallel.

L. 436. **Ruinous**. Cf. l. 413, and note.

L. 438. **Gratulate**; also in *Comus*, 949, and once or twice in Shakspeare, and in Marlowe, *Faustus*, iv. 6. Prof. Masson refers to one of Milton's Cambridge *Prolusiones*, where he speaks of 'the birds . . . eager to congratulate the returning light.'

Ll. 439-498. *Satan reappears. He represents the storm of the preceding night as a portent of future evil, and warns Jesus once more of the sufferings he must undergo. Jesus briefly replies, scorning Satan's threats and bidding him desist.*

L. 446. Cf. l. 12.

L. 449. **In wonted shape**, i.e. without any disguise. So at the touch of Ithuriel's spear (*P. L.* iv. 819) 'started up in his own shape the fiend.'

Ll. 451, 452, 454. For **betide**, **wrack** (= 'crash'), **flaw** (= 'gust of wind'), see Glossary.

L. 453. **As** = 'as if,' a common Elizabethan use of the word, e.g. '*as were our England his*,' *Rich. II.* i. 4. Cf. *P. L.* vi. 241. The 'if' is not *understood*, but implied in the subjunctive; later, when that mood fell into disuse, 'if' was inserted for clearness (Abbott, *Sh. Gr.* §§ 102, 107). **Mingle**. Virg. *Æn.* i. 137, '*coelum terramque . . . miscere*.'

L. 455. Cf. *Comus*, 597, 'the pillared firmament'; *Job* xxvi. 11. The (supposed) solid dome of the sky requires pillars for its support.

L. 457. **The main**, i.e. the 'universe,' in Lucretius '*summa summarum*'; called the *macrocosm*, or 'larger world,' as distinguished from 'man's less universe,' or the *microcosm*. Paracelsus



imagined 'a constant analogy between the *macrocosm* of external nature and the *microcosm* of man' (Hallam, *Lit. of Europe*, i. 7). Thus Shakspeare, *Coriolanus*, ii. 1, has 'map of my *microcosm*,' and 'little world of man,' *Lear*, iii. 1. For derivation of **main**, see Glossary.

L. 461. **Wasteful** = 'devastating' or 'destructive,' as in *P. L.* x. 620, 'wasteful furies.' Cf. 'wasteful wilderness,' paraphrase of Psalm cxxxvi. 58.

L. 463. **Over whose heads, &c.** i.e. 'they threatened ill to those over whose heads,' &c. (*K.*)

ll. 467-473. The punctuation in the text is Keightley's; the sense being, 'Did I not tell thee [*what would happen*] if thou,' &c. See iii. 351, &c. This is better than making 'thou shalt be,' &c. (l. 473) the completion of the sentence. Mr. R. C. Browne refers to a copy of the first edition, in which this passage is thus connected:—

'Did I not tell thee, *soon shalt thou have cause*  
*To wish thou never hast rejected thus*  
The perfect season, &c.'

But this is merely a repetition of ll. 375, 376.

L. 468. **Perfect** = 'complete;' the 'fulness of time,' l. 380.

L. 470. **Push** = 'critical moment,' i.e. time when Fate shall set in motion the accomplishment. Cf. *Hamlet*, v. 1, 'we'll put the matter to the present *push*' (i.e. 'set about it at once'); *Macbeth*, v. 3, 'this *push* will cheer me ever, or disseat me now.'

L. 471. **No man knows when.** Cf. l. 392.

L. 478. **What I foretold thee.** See l. 386, &c. **Hard assay.** See note on i. 264, and Glossary.

L. 481. **Ominous** = 'portentous,' as explained above, ll. 460-466. Cf. *Comus*, 65, 'this *ominous* wood.'

L. 488. **Noising.** Cf. Chaucer, *Boccaccio*, Bk. iii., 'why *noisen* ye?' Usually transitive, as 'noise one's fame,' or with 'it' added, as in *Ant. and Cleopatra*, iii. 6, 'noise it against us.'

L. 491. Probably accented **portént**, as generally in Shakspeare; e.g. *Othello*, v. 2, 'these are *porténts*.' See on i. 175; iii. 36, 190, 217.

L. 491. Cf. l. 168.

L. 496. **Storm'st**, 'raisest a storm.' So Pericles says to Neptune (*Pericles*, iii. 1), 'thou *stormest* venomously.'

Ll. 499-540. *Satan, now enraged, confesses that he had watched Jesus anxiously from his birth; that, having heard him declared the 'Son of God' at his baptism, he desired to learn in what sense he was so called, especially whether he was that fatal enemy, destined to overcome him. He admits that he has hitherto failed in his attempts, but determines to try once more.*

L. 500. **Virgin-born**, said derisively; since to acknowledge the fact would go far towards admitting Jesus to be the Messiah of prophecy. Dunster compares the 'Hail, King of the Jews,' of the soldiers at his trial.

L. 501. i.e. in that 'higher' sense referred to in l. 521.

L. 502. **Have**, in the first edition, afterwards altered to *had*. So 'flocked' in l. 511, altered to *flock*. A mistake might easily arise in dictation.

L. 506. **Sung**. See note on i. 172.

Ll. 518-521. For Milton's own views see on i. 91. He admits in the *Christian Doctrine*, ch. v. that the saints are called sons of God 'in a much lower sense.'

L. 519. **Stands**, i.e. 'holds good.' Cf. the Lat. 'stat sententia,' &c.

L. 523. **Waste wild**. Cf. i. 7 and note.

L. 525. See Satan's address, i. 52, &c.

L. 529. **Parle**, 'treaty.' Cf. *P. L.* vi. 296; *S. A.* 785. It is sometimes a dissyllable, as in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, Part 2, i. 1, 'a friendly *parlé* might become you both.' Hence the verb 'to parle' (now *parley*). Cf. *Love's Labour Lost*, v. 2, 'their purpose is to *parle*.'

L. 534. **Adamant** (*ἀδάμανς*), lit. 'the invincible'; applied (1) to hard steel, (2) to any hard substance, as a rock, (3) to the diamond. [As *diamond* (or *diamant*) is a corruption of *adamant*, Milton has ventured to speak of 'a rock of *diamond*,' *P. L.* vi. 264, as Spenser had done before him in *F. Q.* i. 6, 4.] **As a centre**. The centre of a sphere (as the earth), being immovable, is the emblem of stability. Thus Chaucer, *Squires Tale*, 14, describes Canibuscan 'of his corage as any *centre stable*' (Masson). In *Comus*, 382, the good man 'may sit in the *centre*,' i.e. be steady and secure. Hence 'the centre' came to mean the earth itself. Cf. *T. L.* i. 74; *Hamlet*, v. 2, &c. &c. Bacon, *Essay* xxiii., speaks of the earth which 'only stands fast upon its own centre.'

L. 538. Cf. l. 520. 'Although to be born of a virgin (l. 500)

be miraculous, it is not so far above the production of all mankind, as to place him [Jesus] in that singular eminence, which must be attributed to the *only-begotten*' (Pearson, *On the Creed*, quoted by Calton).

I.I. 541-639. *Satan conveys Jesus to Jerusalem, and placing him on a pinnacle of the Temple, bids him prove that he is the Son of God either by standing or by safely casting himself down. Jesus reproves the tempter and stands firm. Satan, amazed and affrighted, falls headlong from the height; he then repairs to his infernal council, and relates his ill success. Meanwhile angels bear Jesus on their wings to a flowery valley, and setting before him celestial food, celebrate his victory in a triumphant hymn. Jesus returns privately to his mother's house.*

L. 542. **Hippogrif**, a monster in Ariosto's *Orlando*, having the hind parts of a horse and a griffin's front with wings and claws. Ariosto uses it to carry his heroes about, and Milton here reflects upon him for so doing (*N.*) **Sublime**, 'aloft,' Lat. *sublimis* (for *sublevimis*), from *sublevare*, 'to upraise.' Cf. Gray, *Progress of Poesy*, 95, 'Nor second he that rode *sublime*.'

L. 545. **Holy city**, Matt. iv. 5. Hence the Greek form *Hierosolyma*, as if from *ἅγιος*, 'holy.' **Her towers**. Cf. Psalm xlviii. 12.

L. 547. **Alabaster**. See Glossary, and cf. *P. L.* iv. 543, where the eastern gate of Paradise is described as 'a rock of *alabaster*, piled up to the clouds.'

L. 548. The 'spires' are modern (see l. 54, n.) Milton, following the rendering 'pinnacle' of the English Bible, supposes a spire, whereas *πτερύγιον* really means a gable or ridge of the roof; probably Herod's portico, which overhung the Kedron valley at an immense height. Hence he makes the power of *standing* upon the pinnacle, of which the gospels say nothing, a proof of our Lord's divinity (see l. 561, n.)

L. 554. **Progeny**, 'pedigree;' cf. 1 *Henry VI.* iii. 3, 'thy lawful *progeny*.' So the Latin *progenies*, as in Cic. *de Republica*, ii. 12, 'virtutem, non *progeniem*, quæri oportere.'

L. 556. Psalm xci. 11, 12.

L. 561. **Tempt not, &c.**, from Deut. vi. 16. Calton thinks that Milton meant this as a rebuke to the tempter, and an assertion that Jesus was Satan's Lord and God; whereas the gospels make it

an answer to the temptation to cast himself down. But there is no need to apply the quotation thus. Jesus is given the alternative of standing or throwing himself down; he declines the latter as an act of presumption, but 'shows his progeny' by *standing*, which makes a powerful contrast with Satan's *fall*. To make Jesus proclaim his divinity in words, instead of asserting it in act, would be a great sacrifice of poetic art.

L. 562. So in Fletcher's poem *Presumption* 'tumbles head-long to the floor.' See Introduction, p. xxiii. **Amazement**, see note on ii. 38.

L. 563. **To compare, &c.** Cf. *P. L.* ii. 921; x. 306, and Virg. *Ecl.* i. 24, 'sic parvis componere magna solebam.' **Antæus**, son of Poseidon and Gæa, was a famous Libyan wrestler, invincible because he gained fresh strength from his mother Earth at every fall. Hercules overcame him by lifting him into the air and there throttling him. Pindar alludes to this conflict in his *Isthmia*, iii. 90, and in *Pythia*, ix. 185 he mentions *Irassa* as the abode of a later Antæus. Milton seems to have confounded the two, by placing the scene of the conflict in Irassa. Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* xx. 108, uses the same illustration in describing Rinaldo's victory over the Soldan.

L. 565. Hercules was the son of Jove by Alcmena, the wife of Amphitryon, son of Alcæus. Hence he is called Alcides from his *reputed* father.

L. 571. **Whence**, condensed for 'from the place where.'

L. 572. The Sphinx is called by Euripides (*Phænissæ*, 813) οὐρείου τέρας, i.e. the monster of the mountain Phiceus in Bœotia. When Œdipus solved her riddle, she cast herself from a crag of this mountain, or else from the Cadmea, the citadel of Thebes; either of which might be termed 'the Ismenian steep,' from the Theban river Ismenus (*D.*)

L. 574. **That**, i.e. 'that riddle.'

L. 578. **Triumphals**, Lat. *triumphalia* (Tacitus, *Hist.* iv. 4), sc. 'ornamenta,' the accessories of a triumph. Instead of these Satan only brought back 'ruin,' &c. The word seems not to occur elsewhere.

L. 580. **Who durst** = 'because he durst,' Lat. 'qui ausus esset.'

L. 581. **Globe**, 'a compact body,' as in *P. L.* ii. 512. Cf. 'globus ille virum,' Virg. *Æn.* x. 373. Bacon, *Essay, Of Great Place*, has 'imitation is a *globe* of precepts.'

L. 583. **Vans**. *P. L.* ii. 927, 'his sail-broad *vans*,' i.e.

'wings.' *Van*, from *vannus*, is now always spelt *fan*. [Compare *vat*, formerly *fat*, A.S. *fet*, as 'wine-fat' in Mark xii. 1; also *fox* and *vix-en*.] *Him* is of course Jesus, though Satan was last mentioned. The obvious sense overrides grammatical considerations.

L. 585. **Blithe** = 'pleased with its burden' (*D.*), as well as forming part of the general picture of joy. 'This should be evident; yet one commentator proposes *lithe*, as a substitute!

L. 586. Richardson compares the story of *Psyche* in Apuleius, who was wafted by Zephyrs to a flowery bank, and there entertained with invisible music.

Ll. 591, 592. **Repaired, impaired.** See ii. 61, n. There is the same word-play in *P. L.* ix. 144, 'to *repair* his numbers thus *impaired*.' [The two words have a distinct derivation; *repair* being from Lat. *reparare*, 'to renew,' *impair* from the French *empirer*, 'to make worse' (in and *pejor*). The sentence 'what . . . impaired' is condensed for 'what hunger *had impaired*, if hunger had impaired aught.'

L. 593. **Quires.** See note on i. 212.

L. 596. Hebrews i. 8. Cf. the angelic hymn in *P. L.* iii. 372-415, especially ll. 384, &c. As a portion of that hymn celebrated Messiah's triumph over the rebel angels, so here they celebrate his success against temptation ('Thyer). According to Landor this triumphal song is so far inferior to those in *Paradise Lost*, that he thinks 'the angels must have lost their voices since they left Paradise.' We leave this question to the judgment of the reader.

L. 597. **In the bosom, &c.** John i. 18. In *P. L.* x. 225, the Son returns 'into the *blissful bosom*' of his Father.

L. 598. **Conceiving** = 'receiving,' Lat. *concipere* (*K.*) Milton does not here say that Christ is 'Light of Light' (Nicene Creed). In the *Chr. Doctrine*, ch. v., he argues that 'to be God, and to be in the bosom of God, to be God and to be from God . . . are things so different that they cannot be predicated of one and the same essence.' Yet in a former treatise he had addressed the Son of God as the '*everbegotten light*, and perfect image of the Father.' See Introduction, p. xiii.

L. 599. John i. 14, ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν. Cf. Ode on the Passion, 17, 'he . . . poor *fleshly tabernacle* entered.'

L. 600. **Wandering the wilderness.** See i. 269, 354, n. **Whatever place**, sc. 'in,' and see l. 410, n.

L. 601. **Expressing.** Cf. i. 233, and see note.

L. 604. **Thief**, from John x. 1. Cf. *P. L.* iv. 192. Victor

Hugo, *La Légende des Siècles*, speaks of Satan, 'ce braconnier de la forêt de Dieu.' **Long of old.** Cf. 'long of yore,' *Il Pens.* 23. So 'of late,' 'of newe' (Chaucer), &c. These words *yore*, &c. were originally adverbs; the *of* seems to have been added from analogy with such expressions as 'of nights,' 'of necessity,' &c. where *of* was added to or substituted for the old adverbial genitives, *nights*, *needs*, &c.

L. 605. **Debel**, i.e. 'put down by war,' Lat. *debellare*, *Æn.* vi. 853. Cf. Warner's *Albion's England*, ii. 8, 'whom Hercules from out his realm *debelled*.'

L. 607. **Supplanted**, 'overthrown,' in literal sense of *supplantare*, 'to trip up,' in wrestling. Cf. *P. L.* x. 513, '*supplanted*, down he fell.'

L. 608. **Hast regained, &c.** This brings us back to the starting-point of the poem (i. 3) and proves that Milton intended its title to be an accurate designation of its contents. See Introduction, p. xi.

L. 611. **Broke.** See note on i. 165.

L. 612. **Be failed.** See iii. 395, n. Prof. Masson sees a probable allusion to the belief that the site of Paradise was obliterated by the deluge (*P. L.* xi. 829, &c.) But 'failed' need not here mean more than 'lost to man.'

Ll. 613, 614. **Now . . . thou.** For the occasional rime in blank verse, see ii. 61, n.

L. 618. **Serpent**, from Rev. xx. 2, but with a further allusion, borrowed from classical mythology, to the serpent as a constellation. Cf. Virg. *Georg.* i. 34. Satan's 'star' has been in the ascendant, but shall now decline. See iii. 201, n.

L. 619. **In the clouds.** See note on 'powers of air,' i. 44. **Autumnal star**, i.e. as a meteor, such as are common in autumn (Masson). So in *P. L.* iv. 556, Uriel is compared to a shooting star in autumn. Dunster sees an allusion to the *baleful* influence of the Dog-star, Sirius, Homer's ἀστὴρ ὀπωρινός (*Il.* v. 5); but this is doubtful.

L. 620. Luke x. 18; Romans xvi. 10, whence *P. L.* x. 190 (*D.*)

L. 621. **For proof.** Cf. τεκμήριον δέ, in Thucydides, &c., introducing instances in support of a statement.

L. 622. **Yet not, &c.** This, taken in connexion with l. 683, shows that Milton did not consider the final victory over Satan to have been achieved at the Temptation. See Introduction, p. xi.

L. 624. **No triumph.** Cf. l. 578. **Gates** = 'city,' as often in Scripture, e.g. Matt. xvi. 18; Gen. xxii. 17; Isaiah iii. 26, &c. In Rev. ix. 11, **Abaddon** is the angel of the bottomless pit, but in the Hebrew of Job xxvi. 6, and elsewhere in the Old Test., it is used for Hell itself, being rendered 'Destruction' in our English version.

L. 626. **All unarmed,** in contrast to the previous victory of the Messiah, fully armed, over the rebel angels, *P. L.* vi. 760, &c (*D.*)

L. 628. **Demoniac holds,** not only the bodies of men 'possessed with devils,' but every place in earth and air, in which the demons hold sway. Cf. Rev. xviii. 2, 'the *hold* of every foul spirit.'

L. 631. **The deep,** τὴν ἄβυσσον, or 'the bottomless pit,' into which the devils prayed that they might not be sent (Luke viii. 31).

L. 633. **Both worlds,** i.e. Heaven, and the Universe or World of Man (Masson). For the metre, see Introduction, p. xlii.

L. 634. Cf. *P. L.* xii. 31, 'who shall *quell* the adversary serpent' (*D.*) *Quell*—'kill,' A. S. *cwellan*; hence 'man-queller' meant 'murderer' (Wiclif, Acts xxiii. v. 4). Cf. *Macbeth*, i. 7, 'Who shall bear the guilt of our great *quell*,' i.e. 'murder.'

L. 635. A reminiscence of Virgil, *Georg.* i. 42, where the deified Augustus is bidden '*ingredere, et votis jam nunc adsuesce vocari.*'

L. 637. **Sung.** See note on i. 172. This contrast between the unostentatious return of Jesus to his home, and the triumphal hymn of the angels just concluded, is as finely imagined as anything in the poem. The idea is doubtless suggested by what is recorded in Luke ii. 51. Compare, by way of further contrast, Messiah's triumphant return from vanquishing the rebel angels, *P. L.* 880-892.

## NOTE A.

### *THE PARTHIAN EMPIRE.*

THE history of Parthia as an independent State begins about 250 B.C., when *Arsaces* rose against the Syro-Macedonian empire of the Seleucidæ, and having defeated Seleucus II. in a great battle, founded the new Arsacid dynasty. By successive conquests the Parthians extended their dominions westward as far as the Euphrates, which separated them from the Roman province of Syria. They thus became the opponents, and for a long time the successful rivals, of Rome. In B.C. 53 Surenas, general of Orodes I., effected the memorable destruction of Crassus and his army near Carrhæ, the Haran of Scripture; the subsequent attempts of the Parthians to invade Syria were however unsuccessful, and their progress was finally checked by Ventidius, the *legatus* of Antony, in the two separate campaigns B.C. 39 and 38. Orodes was murdered by his son Phraates, to whom he had resigned the crown; the latter was soon afterwards expelled for his cruelty, and Tiridates (Hor. *Od.* i. 26) made king in his stead. Phraates having been restored by aid of the Scythians, Tiridates sought the protection of Augustus, taking a son of Phraates with him. The Emperor sent back the son *sine pretio*, on condition that Phraates should surrender the standards and prisoners taken from Crassus. This was done in B.C. 20, and the diplomatic victory was celebrated by Roman poets as a signal feat of arms (cf. Hor. *Od.* iv. 15, '*signa . . . derepta Parthorum postibus*'). For more than a century afterwards the Parthians gave the Romans much trouble, by their constant invasions of Syria and disputes about the government of Armenia, which was taken and retaken several times. In A.D. 116



Trajan invaded Parthia, and made the greater part of it subject to Rome ; his conquests were however relinquished by his successor Hadrian, for the sake of preserving peace. But the Parthian power was now on the decline, and in the wars which followed the Romans were almost uniformly successful. At length, weakened by these wars as well as by internal dissensions, Parthia fell an easy prey to the Persians, who, in A.D. 226, put an end to the empire of the Arsacidæ, after it had lasted for nearly five hundred years, and established in its stead their own dynasty of the Sassanidæ.

## GLOSSARY.

- Agast** (i. 43) is compounded of the adverbial prefix *a* and a root *gas-* (Icelandic *gys-*), which appears in its oldest form in the Gothic verb *geis-an* and its compounds, as *us-geisnan*, 'to be afraid.' The Gothic prefix *us-* or *ur-* is the High German *er-*, English *a-*. The insertion of *h* in *aghost* and *ghastly* is perhaps due to the influence of *ghost*; which has however no more right to the *h* than *aghost* has, being identical with the O. E. *gast*, H. G. *geist*. *Aghost* was sometimes written *agazed*, from an erroneous connection with *gaze*. (See *Two Noble Kinsmen*, ed. Skeat, I. iv. 19, note). In the Old English *gasten* is 'to frighten' and *gastnes* is 'terror.' Cf. *King Lear*, ii. 1, 'gasted by the noise;' *Othello*, v. 1, 'the *gastness* of her eye.' In the *Vision of Piers Plowman*, 'gaste crowen from his corn' = 'scare the crows.'
- Alabaster** (iv. 547), from ἀλάβαστρος, a vase for holding unguents, made of a kind of marble, called in Latin *onyx* (Hor. *Od.* iv. 12, 17). It is almost certain that the name was first given to the vessel and then applied to the material, which is not the same as our 'alabaster.' The proper form of the word is ἀλάβαστος, and it is probably derived from ἀ, the negative prefix, and λαβή, 'a handle,' because these vases were without handles and of a pear-shaped form. In Matt. xxvi. 7, ἀλάβαστρον μύρου, is 'a box of ointment,' and Theocritus, *Idy l.* xv. 114, has even χρύσει' ἀλάβαστρα, i.e. 'golden ointment boxes.' An old, but erroneous, form of the word was 'alablaster,' as in *Comus*, 660; *Merch. of Venice*, i. 1, 84 (Folio of 1623).
- Allay** (ii. 160), from alléger, Lat. *alleviare*, 'to lighten.' There is another 'allay,' properly spelt *alay*, which is the O. E. *alecgan* and was formerly written *alegge*. This means to 'lay down' or 'compose,' H. G. *legen*; but, owing to similarity of

meaning, easily became confused with the other word (see Wedgwood's *Dict. of English Etymology*).

**Aloof** (i. 313) = 'on the loof' or windward side; and since a vessel thus situated has the power of getting away from one to leeward, *aloof* came to mean 'away' or 'out of reach' (Wedgwood). The common derivation of *aloof* from 'all off' may certainly be rejected; *loof* is probably akin to the A. S. *lyft*, H. G. *luft*, 'the air' or 'wind.' The nautical terms *lofin* in French, *loef* in Dutch, *luv* in Danish, our own *luff*, together with the shortened Spanish form *lo* and *loo*, appear to be varieties of one word and traceable to a common root. (See Jal's *Glossaire Nautique Polyglotte*.) *Aloft* also comes from *lyft* = 'on the lyft,' i.e. 'up in the air; and the distinctive meanings of *aloft* and *aloof* are sometimes confounded, as in Scott's *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, ii. 96:—

'The darkened roof rose high *aloof*.'

**Amain** (ii. 430). See **main**.

**Assay** (i. 143, 264; ii. 234; iv. 478) is a variant form of *essay* (cf. *escape* and the older form *ascape*, *émender* and *amender*, *astray*, and the Old French *estraier*, &c.) 'The French *essayer* and Italian *assaggiare* are from the later Latin *exagium*, from *exigere*, 'to try in a balance.' Cf. ii. 234; 1 Sam. xvii. 39, 'he *assayed* to go; ' Shaksp. *All's Well*, iii. 7, 'let us *assay* our plot.' Hence *assay* (especially in its shortened form *say*) meant 'a specimen; ' and the royal taster was said to 'give the *say*' of the wine and dishes before they were served. So the Latin *prælibare* meant both 'to taste' and 'to try beforehand.' In hunting also 'the *say*' was taken of the deer, to see how fat he was (Nares's *Glossary*).

**Aught** (i. 333). A. S. *â-wiht*, contracted to *ahht* = 'anywhit,' or 'anything.' So *naught* or *nought* = 'nowhit' or 'nothing.' *Whit* = 'thing' occurs in the Bible, as 'every *whit*,' &c.

**Beck** (ii. 238), properly 'a nod,' O. E. *beacan*, H. G. *biegen*. Cf. *L'Allegro*, 28. Hence a token of assent, permission, or authority, like *nutus* in Latin. Cf. 'beckon.' *Beacon*, 'a signal,' is from the same root.

**Beseem** (ii. 335), 'to be fit,' from the older sense of *seem*, with the prefix *be-* = *by-*. Spenser has 'honest mirth that *seemed* (suited) her well.' Hence *seemly*. Whether this *seem* is identical with *seem* = 'appear' is uncertain; if so, the variation of meaning

between 'seeming' and 'seeming good,' i.e. 'pleasing' or 'suiting,' is exemplified in the double sense of the Greek *δοκεῖν* and Lat. *videri*.

**Betide** (iv. 450), here transitive, as in *P. L.* xii. 479, 'what will *betide* the few?' Now usually intransitive, as 'whate'er *betide*,' &c. It is a compound of *be* = 'by' and A.-S. *tidan*, 'to happen,' from *tid*, 'time' (H. G. *zeit*), as in 'even-tide,' &c.

**Bide** (i. 59; ii. 304) is not shortened from *abide*, but was the original form (A.-S. *bīdan*), of which *a-bide* (= *on-bide*) is a compound. In *Romans* xi. 23 the version of 1611 had 'if they *bide* not still in unbelief,' now altered to 'abide.' See **gan** (iv. 409), and compare *bate* and *abate*, *mend* and *amend*; also *στάχυς* and *ἀσταχυς*, *στεροπή* and *ἀστεροπή*, *stella* (= *sterula*) and *ἀστήρ*, &c., &c. (Hales, *Longer English Poems*, p. 210.)

**Cates** (ii. 349) is supposed to be either a curtailed form of *delicates* (= 'delicacies'), or derived from the Old French *achates* (*achat*), 'purchases,' whence came *acater*, *acheter*, &c. (Low Latin *accap-tare*), and our own *cater*. 'Acates' occurs in Jonson's *Sad Shepherd*, i. 3: 'Freud, wine, *acates*, fowl, feather, fish, or fin; 'achates' in Spenser, *F. Q.* ii. 9, 31. These derivations require proof; it is possible that *cate* may be another form of *cake*, and a comparatively modern one, since *cake* occurs in Chaucer and the earlier authors, whereas *cated* does not. Compare *mate* with the old word *make* = 'spouse,' as in Surrey's *Description of Spring*, l. 4:—

'The turtle to her *make* hath told her tale.'

Here the form *match* seems to point to an intermediate process, by which the *k* was softened first into *tch*, and finally into *t*. For *cate* in the singular (which is rare) cf. *Tatler*, No. 255, 'The Christmas pie, a kind of consecrated *cate*.'

**Charm** (ii. 363) has two senses, being in fact two distinct words—(1) = 'enchantment,' from *carmen*, Fr. *charme*, because incantations were pronounced in verse; (2) denoting a combination of sounds, such as birds make when singing together, i.e. 'concert' or 'harmony.' This is the A.-S. *cyrn*, 'a murmuring noise,' and the Lowland Scotch *chirme* is specially used of the chirping of birds. Cf. probably *P. L.* iv. 362, '*charm* of earliest birds;' xi. 594, '*charming* symphonies.' Spenser, in *Colin Clout*, speaks of '*charming* his oaten pipe,' and in the *Faery Queene*, v. 9, 13, he seems to combine both senses of *charm*:—

'Like as the fowler on his guileful pipe

*Charms* to the birds full many a pleasant lay.'

**Droughth** (i. 325), the spelling of the first edition. The word occurs only three times elsewhere in Milton's poems, and is spelt *drouth*. So Milton writes 'highth,' i. 13. The original A.-S. form is *drôgad*, from *drig* (H. G. *trock-en*), our *dry*. Afterwards we find *drough-te*, *drogh-te*, by the side of *drouth-the*, whence came *drough-th*, *drought*, and *drouth*.

**Erewhile** (i. 1) is literally 'afore-time;' 'ere' being the A.-S. *ær*, a comparative adverb of time (with superlative *erst*), and 'while,' originally a noun, as seen in 'a long while,' 'one while,' &c. The A.-S. *hwil* and Goth. *hveila* mean 'space of time.' Cf. Chaucer, *Man of Lawes Tale*, 'quite her *while*,' i.e. 'repay her time.' Hence *whiles*, 'at times,' the gen. sing., and *whilom*, 'formerly,' the old dat. plural of *while*. The O. H. G. *wilon* and the Gothic *hveilan* = 'to rest,' so that the radical meaning of *while* seems to be 'resting-space.'

**Far-fet** (ii. 401). **Fet** is an old form of 'fetch,' which is also very old, as we find *FETCHYN* or *FETTYN* = 'affero' in the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, an English-Latin vocabulary of the 15th century. In the Bible of 1611 the original spelling was 'fet,' which has since been altered to 'fetch.' Cf. Shaksp. *Hen. V.* iii. 1, 'whose blood is *fet* from fathers of war proof.' Spenser, *F.Q.* iii. 1, 8, has *fet* as an infinitive, 'Whom strange adventure did from Britain *fet*.' As there are two A.-S. verbs, *feccan* and *fetian* (pret. *fettle*, p. p. *ge-fet-od*), 'fetch' may possibly come from the former and 'fet' from the latter.

**Flaw** (iv. 454), a gust of wind, as in *P.L.* x. 698. *Hamlet*, v. 1, 'winter's *flaw*;' B. Jonson, *Case is Altered*, iii. 2, 'gust or southern *flaw*;' Keats, *Eve of St. Agnes*, 325, 'the *flaw*-blown sleet.' It is the same word as *flaw*, 'a crack,' *flag*, as in 'flag-stone' (lit. one which splits easily), *flake*, as in 'snow-flake,' 'fire-flake,' &c. Gawin Douglas has '*flaggis* of fire and mony felloun *flaws*.' Cf. 'his *flawed* heart,' *King Lear*, v. 3. The Norse *flaga* is a 'blast of wind,' and also a 'crack,' 'splinter,' &c., and the Dutch *vlaag* is much the same. The radical meaning may be that which *flies* or *flies off*, A.-S. *fligan*, *fleogan*.

**Fraught** (i. 38), the past part. of *freight*, which probably means 'to load a ship.' Hence 'with envy *fraught*' = filled with envy. 'Fraught' = 'burden' (H. G. *fracht*) occurs in *S. A.* 1075.

**Gan** (iv. 409), not 'gan,' is a primitive verb (A.-S. *gyn-nan* or *gin-nan*) of which *be-gin* is a compound. It was originally used as

**an auxiliary** = 'did,' as in *Piers Plowman*, 'his blisse *gan* he tyne' = 'he lost (did lose) his bliss.' When used as a sign of the imperfect tense, '*gan*' often had the force of 'began,' but this sense belongs rather to the compound verb (A.-S. *be-ginnan* and *on-ginnan*). For the present *gin* cf. Song in *Cymbeline*, 'Phoebus *gins* arise;' Drayton, *Shepherd's Garland*, 'I see thou *ginst* to rave,' afterwards altered to 'thou now *beginst* to rave' (Nares).

**Grisly** (iv. 430), A.-S. *grislic*, L. Sc. *girslic*, H. G. *grässlich*, 'frightful.' There is an old word *grise*, 'to fear.' Cf. H. G. *griesgrämig*, 'peevish.' An Old English Homily about 1330 (in Morris and Skeat's *Specimens*) says that Christ at the doomsday shall 'ger the sinful sare *grise*, sa *grisli* sal he to thaim be,' i.e. 'he shall make them sore afraid.' There is another *grisly* = 'grizzled,' from the French *gris*, 'gray.' Cf. *Hamlet*, i. 2 (Folio), 'His beard was *grisly*? no;' Spenser, *F. Q.* i. 9, 35, 'His *grieslie* (al. *griesie*) locks.'

**Harbinger** (i. 71), original form *herebergeour* ('*herberger*' in Chaucer, *Man of Lawes Tale*), is from *here* (H. G. *heer*), 'army,' and *beorgan* (H. G. *bergen*), 'to shelter.' It properly meant one who had to provide quarters for the army; the French *auberge* and Italian *albergo* are from the same root. (See *Two Noble Kinsmen*, ed. Skeat, I. i. 8; Trench, *Select Glossary*, p. 97.) The L. Sc. form is *herbery*, or *herbry*, whence *herbryage*, 'a lodging,' 'inn;' from this would come *harbrager*, and *harbrenger*, with the inserted *n*, as in *messenger* for *messenger*.

**Inly** (i. 228, 466), a compound of *in* and the adjectival ending *-lic*, or the adverbial ending *-lice* (= 'like'), modernised to *-ly*. Hence the A.-S. adjective *inlic*, 'internal,' and the adverb *inlice*, 'internally.' (See note on i. 203.)

**Inure** (ii. 102), or *enure*, is a compound of *in* and the old noun *ure* (also a verb) = 'use;' hence the old expression 'to have in *ure*.' Cf. Bacon, *Essay* vi. 'lest his hand should be out of *ure*.' '*Ure*' is from the Old French *heur*, preserved in 'bon-heur,' 'mal-heur,' &c., which comes from *augurium* through the intermediate form *aür*, and is not to be confounded with '*hæure*' from *hora*.

**Ken** (ii. 286) is the A.-S. *cunnan*, 'to know;' its causative, *cennan*, meant 'to make to know,' 'teach,' as in *Piers Plowman*, vi. 24, '*kenne* me, and I will assaye,' i.e. 'teach me, and I will try.' The verb 'to ken' survives in Northern English; 'ken'

as a noun occurs in *P.L.* i. 59, iii. 622, xi. 379, and in modern poetry.

**Lore** (i. 483), the substantive of 'learn,' which formerly meant also 'to teach,' like *lehren* in German. Cf. Psalm xxv. 5. Shaksp. *Tempest*, i. 2, 'for *learning* me your language.' In A.-S. there were two verbs, *læran*, 'to teach,' and *leornian*, 'to learn.'

**Mail** (iii. 312), Fr. *maille*, from Lat. *macula*, 'a mesh' of a net; hence applied to chain-armour. Cotgrave gives *perdrix maillee* = 'spotted partridge.' In L. Sc. *mail* or *male* is a spot or 'iron-mould' in cloth (Jamieson).

**Main** (i. 112; iv. 457), as an adjective, comes directly from the Old French *maine* or *magne*, Lat. *magnus*; the substantive *main* (iv. 457) is the A.-S. *mægen*, 'power,' from *mag-an*, 'to be able.' Hence *a-main* (ii. 430) = *on mægen*, 'with might.' Both are from the same original root MAG, denoting *power*, which is seen in the Sanscrit *maha*, Greek *μέγας*, Latin *mag-nus*, A.-S. *mag-an*, H.G. *mög-en*, &c. (See *Two Noble Kinsmen*, ed. Skeat, I. ii. 116, note.)

**Methinks**. Cf. 'him thought,' ii. 266, also 'meseems,' &c. The pronoun is in the dative, and 'thinks' is the A.-S. *thincan*, 'to seem,' radically connected with *think*, but a distinct word. The A.-S. verb for 'think' was *thencan*, and the two forms easily became confused. In Shaksp. *Rich.* III. iii. 1 (if the reading be correct) occurs the line :—

'Where *it thinks* best unto your royal self.'

So in German *denken* is 'to think' and *dünken* 'to seem,' and the Greek *δοκέω* means both 'I think' and 'I seem.' See **heseem**.

**Misdeem** (iv. 424) = 'think wrongly.' The Teutonic prefix *mis-* (A.-S. *mys-*), as in 'mis-trust,' 'mis-deed,' &c., is distinct from the Romance prefix *mis-* (French *mes-*), as in 'mis-adventure,' 'mis-chief,' &c., shortened for *minus* (Morris's *English Accidence*, p. 266). But since 'less' = 'inferior' = 'bad,' the ultimate meaning of both prefixes comes to much the same thing; and we can only decide the question by observing whether the latter part of the word is Teutonic, as in 'mis-deem,' from A.-S. *dêman*, 'to judge,' or Romance, as in 'mis-chief,' from *chef*, 'the head,' i.e. that which comes to a head (or ends) ill.

**Muse** (ii. 99), the French *muser*, from Latin *mussare* (*mutire*), Greek *μύσσειν*, 'to mutter' with the lips half closed, as people do

when in deep thought. Hence 'to ponder.' Cf. Shakspeare. *All's Well*, ii. 5, 'rather *muse* than ask why I entreat you;' *Macbeth*, iii. 4, 'do not *muse* at me.' Sometimes 'muse' means 'to wonder,' as in the *Shepherd's Calendar*, Ecl. v. 52:—

'I *muse* what account both these will make.'

**Nice** (iv. 157), from Lat. *nescius*, through Fr. *nice*. The earlier meaning both in French and English was 'ignorant' or 'foolish.' Thus Chaucer, in the *Romaunt of the Rose*, has 'say that ben wise and nothing *nice*.' Hence it came to mean 'simple,' 'trivial,' and then 'delicate' and 'pleasing.' (Cf. *silly* or *seely*, which first meant 'blessed,' II. G. *selig*.) *Nice* has sometimes been referred to the A.-S. *hnesc*, 'tender,' which is a distinct word. From *hnesc* came *nesh*, 'soft,' now provincial. The similarity of meaning in *nesh* and *nice* probably caused them to be confounded.

**Overweening** (i. 147), from A.-S. *ofer-wēnan*, 'to presume,' a compound of *wēnan*, 'to expect' or 'think,' whence 'I ween,' H. G. *wāhnen*. *Overweening* therefore means thinking highly of oneself. Cf. the Greek *ὑπέρ-φρων* from *ὑπέρ* and *φρήν* (*φρονέω*). H. G. *über-müthig*.

**Owe** (ii. 326), A.-S. *āh*, originally meant 'to have,' then 'to have as one's duty,' so that 'I owe to do' = 'it is my duty to do.' Cf. Wiclif's version of Matt. iii. 24, 'I owe to be cristened of the.' *Ought*, the preterite of *owe*, was formerly used in both senses, e.g. Spenser, *F. Q.* vi. 3, 2, 'The knight the which that castle *ought*' (i.e. possessed), and iii. 1, 44 '[They] her knights' service *ought*' (i.e. 'owed'). When *ought* as a present tense came to signify moral obligation, a new weak preterite *owed* was formed, and the possessive meaning was confined to 'own,' which comes either from the derivative verb *āh-nian*, or from *āgen*, the past part. of *āh* (Morris, *Engl. Acc.* § 303). Shakspeare often uses 'owe' for 'own,' e.g. *All's Well*, ii. 5, 'I am not worthy of the wealth I *owe*.'

**Paynim** (iii. 343), Old Fr. *païenisme*, from Low Lat. *paganismus*, properly the country inhabited by the pagans; then the pagan religion; then a person of that religion. *Paganus* in classical Latin meant a 'villager' or 'rustic'; afterwards 'a heathen,' because the old religion lingered on in country districts after the establishment of Christianity in the towns (Trench, *Study of Words*, p. 100). *Payens* = 'pagans' in Chaucer, *Man of Lawes Tale*, 533.



*Paynim* or *paynem* is both an adjective and a noun. Cf. *Piers Plowman*, v. 523, 'apparailled as a *paynym* in pylgrymes wise ;' Mandeville's *Travels*, xxvi. 'he was a *payneme* and not worthi to ben herd.'

**Peel** or **pill** (ii. 136). The etymology is difficult, and the identity of these two words uncertain. **Peel** has its form from the French *peler*, **pill** from *pillier*. But there are two words *peler*; one from O. F. *pel*, *poil*, 'a hair' (Lat. *pilus*), meaning 'to strip off the hair'; the other from O. F. *pel*, afterwards *peau* (Lat. *pellis*), meaning 'to skin.' Again, *pillier*, whence our 'pillage,' is a late French word, derived from the Italian *pigliare*, which comes from the Latin *pilare* (generally seen in its compounds, *expilare*, *compilare*; and this, notwithstanding the long *i* (cf. *dicare* and *dicere*, *rego* and *rigem*, &c.), is probably akin to *pilus*. So that **peel** and **pill** may be (1) the same word, each connected with *pilus* by a different process, or (2) **peel** may be from *pellis*, and **pill** from *pilus*.

**Pine** (i. 325), A.-S. *pinan*, from *pin*, modern English *pain*. *Pinan* means both 'to torment' and 'to languish'; 'pine,' though now always intransitive, was formerly also transitive. Cf. *P. L.* xii. 77, '*pine* his entrails'; Shakspeare, *Rich. II.* v. 1, 'shivering cold and sickness *pin*es the clime'; Chapman, *Iliad*, iii. 194, 'the memory of these In sorrow *pin*es those beauties now.' Chaucer, *Prologues*, l. 205, has the old compound *forpine*—

'He was not pale as a *forpined* ghost.'

**Pioneer** (iii. 330), Fr. *pionnier*, from *pion* (later Lat. *pedon-em*) 'a foot-soldier,' hence 'pawn' in chess. Afterwards the term was applied to those who did labourer's work for the army. Shakspeare, *Hamlet*, i. 5, has *pioner*. Cf. *enginer*, *muleter*, &c.

**Prowest** (iii. 342). This and *prowess* are from the French *preux*, 'gallant,' of which older forms are *prouz*, *pros*, *proud*, and *prode*. The derivations suggested are (1) from Lat. *probus*, which is apparently supported by the fact that in Low Latin *preux* is often rendered by *probus*. But (as Littré observes) this may have arisen from a mistaken idea of their connexion, and it is difficult to see how the *b* of *probus* could have become a *d*, which appears in O. F. *prode*, and in the Italian *prode* and *prodezza*. (2) From *prudus*, a Low Lat. form of *prudens*. Here Scheler objects that a Latin *u* does not properly become a French *eu*; but then the older form is *proud* (not *preux*), and *u*

does sometimes produce *ou*. The Italian form *prode* constitutes a real objection, since *prudus* would make *prudo* and not *prode*. (Cf. *crudus* and *crudo*, &c.) (3) From the preposition *pro*, anciently *prod*, as in *prodesse*. This satisfies etymological conditions, and only requires to be verified; on the whole, we incline to this last view, but think that both *probus* and *prudus* have had their influence in determining the uses of the word. *Prud' homme* is certainly from *prudus* = 'homme probe et sage' (Littre). Compare also the Italian *pro*, *prode*, meaning both 'brave' (adj.), and 'profit' (subst.), by the side of the French *prou*, 'much,' from Lat. *probe*.

**Quit** (i. 477), from *quietus* (It. *queto*), which in later Latin meant 'freed from liabilities.' Cf. *P. L.* iv. 51, 'quit the debt immense,' and the common expression to be quits with anyone. The verb 'to quite' was formerly used for 'requite,' as in Chapman, *Iliad*, x. 23, 'lest bitter fates should quite the Greeks' high favours.'

**Recreant** (iii. 138), from Old French *recreoire* (*recredere*), to 'give in' or 'yield' in battle, lit. 'give oneself up' to the victor. The formula of duelling was 'je le rendrai mort ou *recreant*,' i.e. dead or surrendered; hence, in the *Morte d'Arthur* we have 'yield thee as overcome and *recreant*,' and in Spenser, *F. Q.* ii. 6, 28, 'thou *recreant* knight.' Thus 'recreant' came to mean a coward, deserter, or traitor, as in *K. John*, iii. 1, 'hang a calf's skin on those *recreant* limbs.' The word has nothing to do with changing one's *creed*, which was never the sense of *recreoire* or *recredere*. 'Recreant' is therefore not to be compared with 'miscreant,' which originally meant 'misbeliever,' from *me croire*.

**Scape** (i. 477) is probably not shortened from *escape*, but a separate form, if not a distinct word. (See **bide**, **gan**.) 'Scape' perhaps = *skip*, i.e. a sudden quick movement. 'Escape' (O. F. *escaper*) is usually derived either from *excappare*, 'to slip out of one's cloak' (cappa), like ἐκδύεσθαι, or from *ex* and *campus*, i.e. 'to quit the field,' whence the form *escamper*, It. *scampare*. But all this is very uncertain, and 'escape' may be cognate with 'scape,' with the original sense of 'skip.' Both forms are old; *escapen* (also *ascapen*) occurs in Layamon's *Brut*, but the *Promptorium Parvulorum* (see **far-fet**) gives only 'scaping' = *evasio*. Chaucer has both 'escapen' and 'scapen.' Milton uses 'scape' oftener than 'escape.' For the noun *scape* see ii. 189.

**Scope** (i. 494), from σκοπ-ός (σκοπ-έω, &c.). The original root σκεπ- in σκέπ-τομαι, appears in Latin as **spec-**, in *spec-to*, &c., 'to look at.' Hence it properly means something *seen* from afar, i.e. 'a mark' to aim at. The modern meaning of 'room for action' comes from the idea of a wide view.

**Sheer** (iv. 419). There are two words thus spelt; one from A.-S. *scēran*, 'to cut' or *shear* (whence *share*, *shire*, &c.), the other from A.-S. *scīr*, 'bright,' 'pure,' from the same root as *shī-ne*. Hence '*shir* water' in *Reell. Antiquæ*, 'Shire-burne' (Sherborne) = 'clear brook,' and Shakspeare's '*sheer*, immaculate and silver fountain' (*K. Rich. II.* v. 3). Cf. Mæso-Gothic *skeirs* = 'bright.' The '*sheer*' in the text probably belongs to *scēran*, lit. 'clean cut,' hence a '*sheer* precipice.' Cf. Lat. *abruptus*, Greek ἀπορρώξ (from ῥήγνμι, 'I break'). But the sense of 'clean' = 'utter' (as in '*clean* gone,' &c.) naturally tends to a confusion with *scīr*, 'pure,' a totally distinct word. Cf. the Icelandic *skera*, 'to shear,' and *skirr*, 'bright.'

**Shrouded** (iv. 419). *Shroud* is the A.-S. *scrūd*, 'clothing,' lit. 'what is cut up.' (Cf. L. Scotch *scree'd*.) In *Piers Plowman*, Prologue, l. 2, 'I shope me in *shroudes*' = 'I put myself into garments.' So the O.E. *shreed* = 'to clothe.' Hence *shroud* came to mean 'covering' of any kind or 'shelter.' Cf. *Nativ. Ode*, 218, 'hell shall be his *shroud*;' Sidney, *Arcadia*, 'to seek some *shrouding*-place.' There was a covered place in the side of Old St. Paul's, called the *shrowds* (Pennant's *London*). The restriction to grave-clothes is quite modern. See my note on *Lycidas*, 22.

**Sovran** (i. 84). Milton usually prefers this spelling, taken from the Italian *sovrano*, later Latin *superanus*. But the word came to us through the French, and was first spelt *soverain*, *soverayn*, &c., then *soverein*, *sovereyn*, &c., with such variations as *soveren*, *suffereign*, and *soffrayne*. 'Sovereigne' occurs in the Prologue to *Piers Plowman*, l. 159; and this spelling is supposed to be due to an erroneous connexion of the word with reign. If so, it will serve to illustrate the popular habit of misspelling unfamiliar words, so as to give them a fictitious meaning and derivation (so *causeway* for *causey*, *rhyme* for *rime*, *island* for *iland*, *crayfish* for *crevise*, &c., &c.; Trench, *English Past and Present*, Lect. viii.)

**Spell** (iv. 385). This word has four meanings—(1) 'story, as in *go-spel*, A.-S. *spell-ian*, 'to declare;' (2) 'magic charm,' Ice-

landic *spjall*; (3) 'piece of work'; (4) as a verb, 'to *spell*' a word. The first two are certainly identical; the third answer to the Icelandic *spálr*, 'a piece' of anything, and may or may not be from the same root as the fourth. This last (which is the one in the text), is probably the same as *spill*, 'a splinter' of wood (or *spell-ican*), A.-S. *spelc*; Icelandic *spelkur*. Cf. H. G. *spalten*, 'to split,' A.-S. *speld*. The radical meaning is therefore 'to divide,' as a word into its separate letters, or a log into splinters. Harrington, in his translation of *Orlando Furioso*, xix. 61, has 'the spears in *spels*, and sundry peeces flew.' Latham connects *spell* = 'piece of work' or 'turn of work,' with A.-S. *spelian*, 'to take the place of' any one, cognate with H. G. *spielen*, 'to play,' as in 'play a part,' i.e. act for another; but this is doubtful.

**Stubs** (i. 339). A.-S. *styb*, Sw. *stubb*, Lowland Sc. *stab* or *stob*, the 'stump' of a tree, or any plant of short stunted growth. Lat. *stip-es*. Hence 'to stub' is to clear the ground by pulling up 'stubs' (as in Tennyson's *Northern Farmer*, 'I a' *stubb'd* Thornaby Waaste'). *Stubble* (*styb-el*) is a diminutive of *stub*.

**Taste** (ii. 131), primarily 'to feel' or 'touch,' from Old French *taster*, now *tâter*. This is from *taxitare*, a later frequentative of *taxare*, the frequentative of *ta(n)gere* (root TAG).

**Toy** (ii. 177, 233), is the H. G. *zeug*, meaning implement or material. Hence the full word should be 'play-toy' (*spiel-zeug*). 'Daff-toy' meant a trifle, lit. 'silly-stuff,' from L. Scotch *daff*, 'to be foolish.'

**Turban** (iv. 76). This spelling is from the Italian *turban*, *turban* being the French form of the word. Nash, in *Lenten Stufe*, 1598, has *turbanto*; Shakspeare, *Cymbeline*, iii. 3, *turband*. The form *tolibant* or *tulibant* (Puttenham's *Art of Poesie*) comes nearest the original, which is the Persian *dolband*, lit. 'a double band' or 'fold.' Other forms are *tulipant*, *turribant*, and *turbat* (Trench, *Eng. Past and Present*, p. 15).

**Unware** (i. 225) or **unwares**. The A.-S. *ware* (*waer*, *war*) is (1) a substantive, whence *a-ware* = 'on the ware,' i.e. 'with caution'; (2) an adjective, as in 'be ware.' (Cf. 2 Tim. iv. 15, 'be thou *ware*.') In the A.-S. version of Luke xii. 40, 'beo ge *waere*' = 'be ye ready.' Cf. H. G. *be-wahren*. In Old High German *were* was both a noun and an adjective. [In *unwares*,

*unawares*, the *s* is the sign of the genitive (see on 1. 77), commonly used to form adverbs of time and place, as *forwards*, *backwards*, &c., and in Old English *algates*, *soothes*, &c., also *anyways*, *nowadays*, &c.]

**Unweeting** (i. 126), now commonly 'unwitting,' from A.-S. *wit-an* (H. G. *wissen*), 'to know,' pres. ind. *wit* (*wot*), pret. *wiste*. Morris, *Engl. Accidence*, p. 190, says that *weet* is the 'causative of *wit*.' But this was *wissian* (*wissen*), 'to teach,' and *weet* is really a later variety of *wit*, and a favourite word with Spenser. A very early instance occurs in the *Paston Letters*, 1474, 'letyng you *weet* that I have done my devoyr (duty).' *Wit* and *weet* both mean 'to know' and 'to learn,' i.e. 'get a knowledge' of a thing, like γινώσκω and *nosco*.

**Weeds** (i. 314), formerly also used in the singular, *weed*, is the A.-S. *wæd*, 'clothing,' from *wefan*, 'to weave.' Cf. *L'Allegro*, 120, '*weeds* of peace,' and many passages in Shakspeare. In the *Braes of Yarrow* we have 'bridal *weeds*;' the restricted application to a widow's dress is quite modern. [*Weed* = 'herb' is the A.-S. *weod*, and a distinct word.]

**While** (i. 37, 216). See **erewhile**.

**Wrack** (iv. 452), the same as *wreck*, L. Scotch, *wrak*, *rak*, as in Douglas' Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 560, 'affrayit with the *rak*,' i.e. 'scared with the noise.' It is the Dutch *wrak*, Dan. *vrage*. (A.-S. *wracian*), properly what is *drifted*, or thrown off, or rejected. The Icelandic verb *reka* means (1) 'to drive;' (2) 'to thrust,' 'push,' 'expel;' (3) impersonally 'to be drifted, tossed,' &c.; (4) 'to inflict (or *wreak*) vengeance.' But although all these have clearly a common root, it is better now to write the fourth as a distinct word, and not to speak of '*wrecking* spleen,' as Prior did in his *Cupid Mistaken*. Also *rack*, when used of clouds, violently driven by the wind, had better be so spelt, and not *wrack*, as in some editions of the *Tempest*, iv. 1. 'leave not a *wrack* behind,' or *wreck*, as on Shakspeare's monument in Westminster Abbey.

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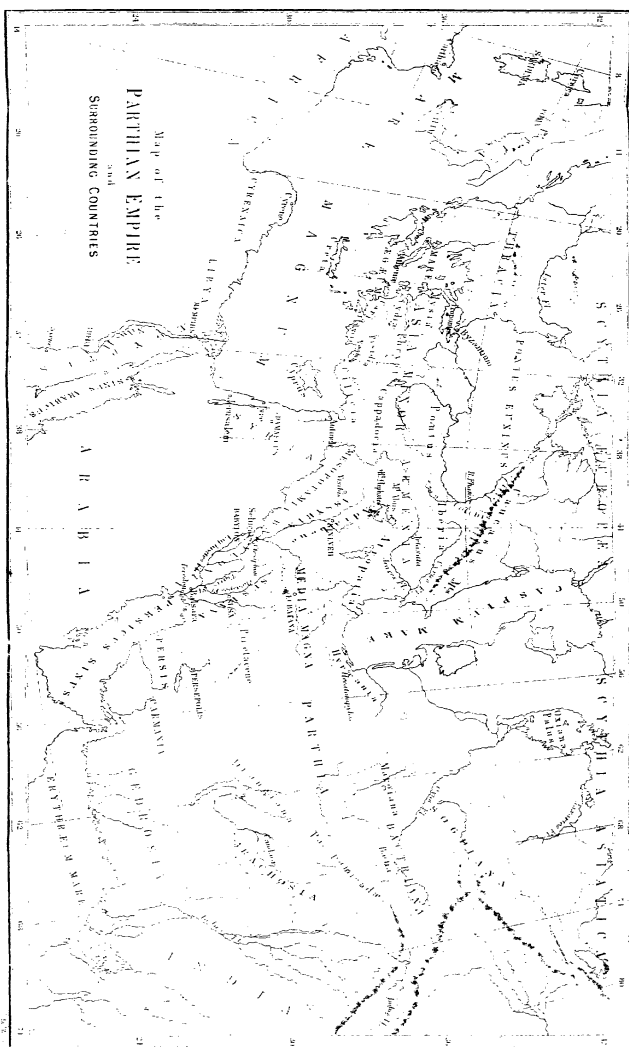
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